

The Making of  
Adult Minds  
in a  
Metropolitan  
Area

FRANK LORIMER

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THE MAKING OF ADULT MINDS  
IN A METROPOLITAN AREA



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# THE MAKING OF ADULT MINDS IN A METROPOLITAN AREA

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BROOKLYN CONFERENCE  
ON ADULT EDUCATION

FRANK LORIMER  
RESEARCH DIRECTOR

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NEW YORK

1931

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## FOREWORD

The Brooklyn Study has been in the highest degree a coöperative adventure. The members of the Conference, with few exceptions, have taken active part in the promotion of the undertaking. The Conference members are as follows:

### BROOKLYN CONFERENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION

#### Members and Their Affiliations

SEYMOUR BARNARD, Chairman, People's Institute,  
Neighborhood Guild

MRS. WILLIAM P. EARLE, Secretary and Treasurer,  
United Neighborhood Guild

EDWARD J. ALLEN, Seth Low Junior College

JAMES C. BOUDREAU, Pratt Institute, School of Fine  
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MORRIS E. SIEGEL, Evening and Continuation Schools, Board of Education

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The members of the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education do not commit their institutions and organizations to this report's statements and conclusions. They admit differing opinions among themselves as to its contents. The report represents as near an approach to full approval on the part of each member as could reasonably be expected.

A special committee, referred to as the Study Committee, took an active part in planning the work in all its stages. The members of this committee are:



|                         |   |                                                           |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Seymour Barnard         | } | representing the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education   |
| Mrs. William P. Earle   |   |                                                           |
| Adelbert G. Fradenburgh |   |                                                           |
| Carroll N. Gibney       |   |                                                           |
| Harry P. Hammond        |   |                                                           |
| Parke R. Kolbe          |   |                                                           |
| Dwight R. Little        | } | representing the American Association for Adult Education |
| Miss Jessie Post        |   |                                                           |
| Arthur E. Bestor        |   |                                                           |
| Morse A. Cartwright     |   |                                                           |
| Everett Dean Martin     |   |                                                           |
| John D. Willard         |   |                                                           |

Funds for making the study possible were supplied by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Thanks are due to the Carnegie Corporation for generous subsidy, and to the American Association for Adult Education for co-operation in planning procedures.

The Conference is especially appreciative of the courtesy of the Superintendent of Schools in making possible the circulation of preliminary questionnaires through public school children. Such procedure is ordinarily incompatible with public school policy, but three characteristics of the Brooklyn Study made unusual coöperation possible in this case: the study is strictly non-commercial and non-sectarian; it is concerned with education; and it is representative of a united community effort.

Educational, social, and business organizations have generously furthered the study in various ways. In many cases business concerns made arrangements for interviews by members of the Conference staff with groups of employees on company time, and in other ways proved extremely courteous and helpful. In other cases willingness to coöperate was stated or coöperation was started by organizations which were unable to complete

the plans suggested by the Conference staff. The Conference members and staff also appreciate the help of many individuals who coöperated in gathering data or who courteously supplied information for this study. The list of organizations rendering effective coöperation, to the limit of request by the Conference, in addition to organizations informally represented in the Conference itself, is as follows:

American Sugar Refining Company  
Boy Scouts of America, Brooklyn Council  
Brooklyn Alliance of Women's Clubs  
Brooklyn Borough Gas Company  
Brooklyn Daily Times  
Brooklyn Federation of Churches  
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences  
Brooklyn Kiwanis Club  
Brooklyn Management Club  
Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation  
Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children  
Brooklyn Union Gas Company  
Brooklyn Urban League  
Child Study Association of America  
Hills Brothers Company  
Kings County Lighting Company  
Knox Hat Company  
League of Mothers' Clubs  
League of Women Voters  
Frederick Loeser & Company  
Long Island College Hospital  
Midwood Financial Corporation  
The Namm Store  
National Council of Jewish Women, Brooklyn Section  
National Meter Company  
Neighborhood Teacher Association  
New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, Education  
Department  
New York Police College



New York State Department of Labor, Employment  
Exchange  
New York Telephone Company  
Oppenheim, Collins & Company  
Reid Ice Cream Company  
Segal Lock and Hardware Company  
Shoe Manufacturers' Board of Trade of New York  
United Parents' Association  
United States Department of Labor, Naturalization Service

Frank Lorimer, Ph.D., formerly Lecturer in Social Theory at Wellesley College, was, as Research Director during the period of the study, primarily responsible for the initiation of research plans and the writing of the report. Alice B. Evans rendered valuable service in office administration, analysis of data, and preparation of the manuscript. Gladys C. Schwesinger, Ph.D., Rensis Likert, and Edyth Ahrens also shared in the administration of the study. Other persons engaged for special services were Lillian F. Clark, Grace Farrell, Jane Likert, Leone Pecoraro, Felix Morrow, Helen Hinkle, Florence Hosmer and Blanche B. Yates.



# CONTENTS

|                    | PAGE |
|--------------------|------|
| FOREWORD . . . . . | V    |

## INTRODUCTION

|                                                                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| I. THE PROBLEM: THE MAKING OF ADULT MINDS IN<br>PRESENT DAY INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY . . . . . | I  |
| II. THE BROOKLYN STUDY: INCEPTION AND AIM . . . . .                                      | 10 |
| III. BROOKLYN: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION . . . . .                                             | 13 |
| IV. A GLANCE AT BROOKLYN INSTITUTIONS FOR ADULT EDU-<br>CATION . . . . .                 | 18 |

## CHAPTER I. A FEW RESIDENTS OF BROOKLYN: THEIR EDUCATION

|                                                             |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| GUS POLITRIDES: MASS CULTURE IN A COFFEE POT . . . . .      | 26 |
| PAULINA: ITALIAN FACTORY WORKER . . . . .                   | 28 |
| A STENOGRAPHER CULTIVATES THE MUSES . . . . .               | 30 |
| GAS TESTER, ANALYST, EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR . . . . .    | 32 |
| A TECHNICAL ASCETIC . . . . .                               | 33 |
| A CONNECTICUT YOUTH MASTERS "THE COMMON BRANCHES" . . . . . | 34 |
| A COLLECTOR . . . . .                                       | 36 |
| MECHANICS AND MUSIC . . . . .                               | 37 |
| EDUCATION IN A HEBREW HOME . . . . .                        | 39 |
| ANOTHER IMMIGRANT MOTHER'S STORY . . . . .                  | 40 |
| ASTROLOGY AND NUMEROLOGY . . . . .                          | 41 |
| A PHYSICIAN'S WIFE GOES TO COLLEGE . . . . .                | 42 |

## CHAPTER II. FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION VIEWED IN MASS

|                                                                            | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| HOW MANY ADULTS GO TO SCHOOL? . . . . .                                    | 44   |
| RELATION OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING TO INTEREST IN ADULT<br>EDUCATION . . . . . | 49   |
| MOTIVES FOR ADULT STUDY . . . . .                                          | 51   |
| RESULTS OF ADULT STUDY . . . . .                                           | 54   |

## CHAPTER III. EDUCATION IN RELATION TO COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

|                                                                             |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| EDUCATION FOR COMMERCE . . . . .                                            | 60 |
| EDUCATION FOR MANUAL WORKERS IN INDUSTRY . . . . .                          | 68 |
| ADULT TECHNICAL EDUCATION . . . . .                                         | 74 |
| COMPANY EDUCATIONAL POLICIES . . . . .                                      | 80 |
| EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS—WORKERS'<br>EDUCATION . . . . . | 92 |

## CHAPTER IV. FOREIGN GUESTS AND NEW AMERICANS

|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH . . . . .                | 95  |
| LARGER ASPECTS OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION . . . . . | 103 |

## CHAPTER V. VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL COUNSEL

|                                                                                    |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| POPULAR INTEREST IN VOCATIONAL COUNSEL . . . . .                                   | 108 |
| PRESENT EXTENT OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN BROOKLYN . . . . .                        | 109 |
| COMPULSORY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS AS VOCATIONAL GUID-<br>ANCE INSTITUTIONS . . . . . | 111 |
| EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE . . . . .                                                     | 119 |

## CHAPTER VI. METROPOLITAN CULTURE

|                                                      | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------|------|
| THE PROBLEM . . . . .                                | 121  |
| EDUCATION AND LEISURE-TIME INTERESTS . . . . .       | 123  |
| NEWSPAPER HABITS OF THE ADULT POPULATION OF BROOKLYN | 125  |
| RADIO PREFERENCES . . . . .                          | 128  |
| READING HABITS AND LIBRARIES . . . . .               | 132  |
| THE FORMATION OF ACTIVE ARTISTIC INTERESTS . . . . . | 139  |
| MUSEUMS . . . . .                                    | 142  |
| THE CULTURE OF EVERYDAY LIVING . . . . .             | 149  |

## CHAPTER VII. EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD

|                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| EXISTING PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL EDUCATION . . . . .    | 153 |
| COMMONLY USED SOURCES OF PARENTAL INFORMATION . . . . . | 158 |
| LARGER ASPECTS OF EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD . . . . .    | 162 |
| PUBLIC PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL EDUCATION . . . . .      | 165 |

## CHAPTER VIII. SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

|                                                            |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| THE IMPORTANCE OF ADULT SOCIAL EDUCATION . . . . .         | 166 |
| THE FORMATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS . . . . .     | 169 |
| A SYMPOSIUM ON EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE . . . . . | 177 |

## CHAPTER IX. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY IN ADULT EDUCATION

|                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| INDEPENDENT CLUBS . . . . .                                                               | 195 |
| THE HEBREW EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY: AN EXAMPLE OF A<br>COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL CENTER . . . . . | 203 |
| EXTENT AND VALUE OF EXISTING INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL<br>ORGANIZATIONS . . . . .              | 205 |

|                                                                                                                        | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| CHURCHES AS COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS . . .                                                                   | 206  |
| PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS POSSIBLE COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL<br>CENTERS, AND RELATED COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL PRO-<br>GRAMS . . . . . | 215  |
| COLLEGIATE CENTERS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS . .                                                                     | 217  |
| FOUR MAIN LINES OF ADVANCE IN ADULT EDUCATION . . .                                                                    | 219  |
| PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION . . . .                                                                      | 224  |

## APPENDICES

|                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| I. STATEMENT OF METHOD . . . . .            | 227 |
| II. SOME SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . . | 233 |
| III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS . . . . .          | 235 |

THE MAKING OF ADULT MINDS  
IN A METROPOLITAN AREA







## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE PROBLEM: THE MAKING OF ADULT MINDS IN PRESENT DAY INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

#### MINDS ARE MADE

The physical basis of human intelligence has remained practically unchanged throughout the history of civilization. The men and women who guarded their fires, chipped stone implements and gossiped under the cliffs of Northern Spain twenty thousand years ago apparently had slightly larger brains than modern Europeans, but the difference is not important. There are marked differences, of course, between individuals and between families. Some of us are naturally duller than others. Modern educational measurements have emphasized the importance of individual differences. But, in general, the intellectual inheritance of *homo sapiens* has remained relatively constant while successive cultures have accumulated and decayed. Very different kinds of human life have been built out of much the same physical stuff.

This statement of fact is not intended as an argument for the neglect of hereditary factors in human intelligence. Biologic factors underlie human progress. But they do not in themselves supply civilized mentality, afford the solution of industrial problems, or determine character and taste.

It would, of course, be far from the truth to suppose that a caveman of twenty thousand years ago lived with

unaided natural intelligence. Traditional social ways, language, and a considerable variety of craft and arts went into the making of Cro-Magnon minds. Their rationality was indebted to thousands of generations of previous social experimentation and discussion. But in contrast to modern civilization Cro-Magnon culture was relatively meager and inflexible. It was capable of haphazard transmission from elders to youths as they shared in the chase or sat about the open hearth. It produced minds which were adequate to meet Stone Age requirements, but which would be utterly helpless if confronted with the problems which a civilized man must solve as a part of his daily routine.

The evolution of more complex social systems necessitated conscious attention to the making of minds, or in other words, necessitated systems of formal education. The rise of stable national civilizations, as in Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Greece, involved in each case the institution of systematic courses of instruction for the development of the minds of princes and nobles, although the commoners and slaves were allowed to remain in a more natural state of ignorance.

The present era of high-powered mass production rests on the foundations of specialized scientific research and public juvenile education for the whole population. We are all aware that experimental science is a recent achievement. But it is difficult for us to realize that universal free education has come into existence, for the first time in human history, within the last three hundred years, or that it seemed an impractical ideal to such an enlightened citizen of the seventeenth century as John Locke.

Traditional doctrines and institutions, public juvenile education, a variety of quasi-public instruments of mass

culture such as newspapers, periodicals, theaters and radio, informal discussions, and finally systematic courses of study for adults all enter into the development of our skills, tastes, interests, and habits of thought, in short, into the making of our minds. Human minds are social products. And very different minds are made in any here-and-now than in other times and places.

#### MASS PRODUCTION AND INDIVIDUAL MINDS

Question is often raised as to the effect of mass production and distribution upon the quality of individual lives. One thing is certain: *contemporary civilization offers new opportunities and makes new demands upon the minds of individual adults*. Our economic and social organization involves unprecedented dangers, wars, cycles of expansion and depression, and social conflicts. We may develop sufficient social intelligence for the solution of such problems, but it can hardly be maintained that we have as yet. But, apart from such crises, the present order in its normal operation places individuals in many cases under terrific strain. We do not know whether or not there is more functional insanity now than under simpler conditions because the statistics on the subject are uncertain and incomplete, but there is obviously an appalling amount to-day. And where there is one insane, there are many more frustrated persons who do not quite break. One cannot walk far in city streets, especially in a period of depression, without meeting many defeated and degraded personalities. It is true that the individual to-day has an unequalled opportunity to live his own life creatively, to develop deep friendships, to travel, to read, to play, and to participate in significant social undertakings. It is also true that it is possible for many per-



sons of inferior endowment and education to lead very tolerable lives to-day with many comforts and amusements—so long as circumstances are favorable. But the same system under adverse conditions spells defeat for those whose minds are inadequately prepared.

It is obvious that the strain of vocational adjustments to-day is severe. Instead of a relatively few crafts modern industry offers a bewildering array of specialized occupations. Many of these tasks afford little opportunity for the development of the individual through his work. Technological shifts, financial and industrial maladjustments frequently threaten workers with economic insecurity. And artificially stimulated standards of consumption make insecurity peculiarly humiliating and demoralizing.

Culturally, it is equally obvious that individuality and beauty of personal living are dependent upon critical judgment, sureness of taste, and capacity for self-determination. Traditional systems of conduct have destroyed one another in mutual conflict. The most varied possibilities of living are open to each individual. And a mass of cultural offerings, amusements, and services are placed at his disposal. Nevertheless, it is not easy to achieve a freedom that is satisfactory.

Again, the increasing complexities of problems thrust upon modern adults as citizens and as members of economic and social groups require for their effective solution a higher general level of intelligence than that required for good citizenship under simpler social conditions. The modern citizen is expected to pass sound judgment upon effects of tariff legislation, the equitable basis of public utility rates, the advisability of bond issues for road construction, standards of theatrical production, the treatment of dissenting minorities, the selection of text-books,

and the determination of educational policies. It is apparent that simple honesty, important as that may be, no longer suffices to make a man a good voter, a good business man, or a good office holder. The social problems of contemporary society require a high order of social intelligence. The modern world is not one that has been made safe for ignorance. The quality of adult minds has become more decisive than ever before in individual living and in the determination of social progress or defeat.

#### THE ADULT MIND

If the term *adult mind* is used to mean anything more than just any mind in an adult body, it properly means a mind that is competent to deal effectively with the problems of adult life. In this sense intellectual maturity differs in different places and at different times. An adult mind in a Sioux village would not necessarily be an adult mind in New York City. The modern adult, male or female, is expected to be an effective producer, through paid occupation, through home responsibilities, or possibly through unpaid social service. An adult, here again either male or female, is expected to be an intelligent citizen, with considerable grasp of intricate social, economic, and political problems. An adult is also expected to be aware of contemporary movements in art and science, to develop genuine, individual interests amid the conflicting appeals of contemporary culture, and to participate in the social exchange of ideas and the formation of our own time-spirit. The normal *adult mind* may then be defined as *a mind that is equipped vocationally, socially, and spiritually for life on the adult level under present conditions.*

Of course, in using this conception it must be admitted

at once that many adults do not have adult minds. Also it is apparent that a person may be truly adult in one sphere but not in another. One may deal profoundly with abstract ideas but be utterly unprepared for effective participation in economic affairs. Another may have a mature grasp of industry and commerce but be puerile in his artistic and social outlook. It would be easy to say that no mind is ever wholly mature. Nevertheless, it is convenient to use this conception of an adult mind, a mind "at home" in the adult world, a mind equipped to guide adult life successfully, here and now, as a practical ideal in passing judgment on the ultimate worth of various institutions and the efficacy of various educational programs. *The making of adult minds*, in this sense, has become the central problem of civilization. The problem is worthy of scientific investigation and thoughtful consideration. We need to know to what extent adult personalities, equal to the problems of metropolitan life, are now being developed, what are the effects of various schools and cultural institutions in this regard, and what innovations in education would effectively further this end.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ADULT EDUCATION

In spite of the great advance in education during the last three hundred years, the acceleration of civilization has been so great, affairs have suddenly become so complex, and such heavy demands are now made upon individual adults that established systems of education have become altogether inadequate to meet the requirements of the present situations. This has given rise to a vigorous and extensive progressive education movement. The root principle of this progressive education policy is the vitalizing of education, the development of intellect-



ual powers, and the acquisition of knowledge in relation to the actual situations of life to-day.

The change in the quality of education naturally involves an extension of its time-span, backward into the nursery and forward into the midst of adult activities. Infant training and adult education are not mere additions tacked onto the traditional system of education, mere quantitative innovations. Each is logically an integral part of modern education. The importance of nursery training lies in the fact that fundamental traits of personality are, to a very large extent, determined before the child goes to school. It is not merely true that the usual school period does not afford enough time for training in fundamental personal habits, modes of social adjustment, and ways of talking and thinking. The crucial consideration is rather that the best time for such education, if it is to be effective, falls in the preschool period. Similarly, the importance of adult education is not primarily that we need to learn more than can be learned in eight or twelve or twenty years, but that many important phases of education are most effectively promoted after men and women have already come face to face with the problems of adult life. Attention to organization of knowledge in relation to the actual situations of adult life is thus an essential part of the whole progressive education movement.

For instance, there are many phases of vocational education that can be handled best with those who have had practical industrial or professional experience already, and in relation to their daily work. The specialization of tasks in modern society makes it impossible to introduce a comparable series of vocational courses into the precious years of elementary school discipline. Frequently the youth has not fixed his final choice of occupation until

long after he has left school and tried himself out for a number of years in one or more fields. He needs professional counsel during this critical period. And after he has found his field he usually needs further related courses of study. The limitation of most vocational education to full time students is wasteful and inefficient and gives an unfair advantage to youths who come from prosperous homes. Much vocational education falls logically within the province of adult education.

Again, parental education can be best developed with those who have experienced the joys and difficulties of parent-child relationships. And it is hard to think of any phase of education which is of more obvious value or more worthy of public support.

Again, modern economic and social issues are so complex that elementary courses in government and social science for children usually have little pertinence to the real problems with which the intelligent citizen must wrestle. Education in this field naturally focuses around the moot problems of shifting industrial and political developments. Evidence introduced later on will show that most persons who have a vigorous interest in social affairs seem to have developed this interest at a fairly mature age.

And although it is true that the foundation of any lively interest in literature, art, or natural science is usually laid in the experience of childhood and youth, it is also true that these interests will be important in adult life just in so far as they are constantly renewed and developed through reading, discussion, and creative work. Furthermore, knowledge and theory are developing so rapidly in many fields that ideas become obsolete in a few years unless they are continually reworked.

Adult education is not a substitute for anything else.



It is not an antidote for dysgenics or bad housing. It does not take the place of good juvenile education, although it is often thought of in this way: a public school principal in Brooklyn said that there would be no use in interviewing parents in his district about adult education as most of them were college graduates! Adult classes may often be of great value to persons who lacked opportunities for study in childhood, but it is a mistake to think of adult education primarily as a matter of patching up the holes in earlier training. On the contrary, its character, its values and its problems are unique. It should play a peculiar and important rôle in the near future in the development of American life.

Frankly, it must be admitted that the possibilities of adult education have not as yet been generally appreciated, even by many administrators in charge of public and private educational institutions. It gets scanty support from public funds or from established private school endowments. In fact, adult education in America to-day consists for the most part of a series of dissociated enterprises in various special fields where the popular demand is such as to make courses very inexpensive from the institutional standpoint, or even profit-producing, and of offerings in a few fields, such as English for the foreign-born, where the need is so obvious as to be inescapable. The procedures in work with adults are frequently drawn with slight modifications from models originally formed for work with children rather than specifically designed to meet the needs of adults. It is true that in many institutions a liberal and experimental policy regarding adult education is being developed, with provisions for superior instruction, and in some cases with separate classes for credit and non-credit students and other provisions to meet the distinctive needs of dif-

ferent groups of adults. Nevertheless, there hardly exists as yet in America any generally accepted philosophy or policy as regards the provision of intellectual opportunities for adults.

The many-sided intellectual development of all citizens may yet become the aim and pride of modern cities as it was of ancient Athens, where Pericles could boast that "the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace." Until such an ideal is firmly rooted in the public consciousness the possibilities of adult education will not be thoroughly canvassed or progressively realized. It is not at all unthinkable that the logic of present circumstances will lead, in a few years, to innovations in education which may still seem as visionary even to many enlightened educators as universal juvenile education once seemed to John Locke.

## II. THE BROOKLYN STUDY: INCEPTION AND AIM

The Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education came into existence in the spring of 1928. It is, as its name implies, primarily a *conference*, an attempt on the part of specialists in various fields of education to canvass together the needs and possibilities of adult education in a particular area. The Conference has not up to this point initiated any educational programs or services. It has rather been concerned with the attempt to get a clear picture of the situation as a whole, assuming that in most cases new enterprises where needed could be most advantageously developed by one or more agencies already in the field. In the year 1928-29 the Conference undertook

to collect general information about facilities for adult education in Brooklyn. President Frederick B. Robinson of the College of the City of New York rendered valuable assistance by securing funds and making suggestions for this preliminary survey.

After this, a plan was formulated for an intensive study of the importance of education in the daily lives of men and women in this community, to discover the actual results of present educational programs in vocational adjustments and in the range and quality of free time activities, to record popular attitudes on educational matters, and to explore the possibilities of new types of education for adults. It was decided at the outset that an approach should be made to individuals, through occupational and social contacts, in the population at large, as well as to those already enrolled in institutions for adult education. The Carnegie Corporation of New York appropriated sufficient funds to make such a study possible. A full time research director was engaged for the academic year, 1929-30, and associates were employed for field work, clerical service and analysis. Conference members and staff members have coöperated actively in the development of the whole project. A small Study Committee has met frequently and shared with the director the responsibility for executive decisions and the interpretation of the data collected.

As the study has progressed its aim has been broadened and clarified. It became apparent that it is impossible to make an adequate general study of the place of education in the lives of adults in a modern city without attending to the whole interplay of economic, cultural and social factors in the development of individual personalities. The scope of the study therefore broadened into a concern with the whole range of factors which are op-



erative in "the making of adult minds" in a particular area.

At the same time, the study was organized with specific reference to the present operation and practical possibilities of educational services for adults in this community. The Conference and the staff were especially interested in appraising the value of various general types of adult education and in developing suggestions for desirable changes, extensions and innovations in this field. In order to make this phase of the study pertinent it became necessary to give attention to the institutional set-up of educational work with adults in Brooklyn. Attention, however, throughout the study, has centered in the significance of education in individual lives, and attention to institutions has been strictly subordinate to this central approach.

The data have been gathered and problems worked out entirely within the specified area, but the results will probably prove applicable in large part to any American urban center. Because of the general scope and character of the study little attempt has been made to appraise the value of particular schools or programs, although any evidence of this sort is freely presented where available. The number of individuals interviewed or answering the questionnaires is necessarily very small in comparison with the total population of the area. Much attention was directed toward securing as representative a sampling as possible, and the characteristics of the sample are checked against the general population. Nevertheless, the conclusions should in all cases be regarded as suggestive rather than as final or authoritative. Suggestions and interpretations which appear reasonable to the director and the Conference have been freely offered. They should be accepted as such rather than as in any sense scientific find-

ings. In general the whole study should be regarded as exploratory and provisional.

### III. BROOKLYN: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

Brooklyn has advanced in size and economic importance as it has declined in economic and social independence. The Act of Incorporation of 1898 gave political form to the gradual economic and cultural integration of Brooklyn into the life of New York City. This process is just now being accelerated by the development of new transit facilities. Meanwhile the population of the area has increased so rapidly that Brooklyn has become the second largest urban unit in the United States, the 1930 census figures for Brooklyn being 2,596,154—roughly, 780,000 less than Chicago, but 736,000 more than Manhattan and 635,000 more than Philadelphia.

Brooklyn contains important industrial sections along the waterfront and along the railways. The industries in the Brooklyn area, in 1927, gave an average daily employment to 147,000 wage-earners, which is less than the number so employed in Manhattan, Philadelphia or Detroit, but more than the number in St. Louis, Cleveland or Pittsburgh. Brooklyn supports several very large department stores and quantities of neighborhood shops. In fact, there are more retail stores in Brooklyn than in Philadelphia. At the same time, a vast army pours from Brooklyn into Manhattan each morning between six and ten, to work, shop or study. About forty per cent of all persons entering Manhattan below 59th Street on a typical business day start from or travel through Brooklyn or Queens.<sup>1</sup> The ratio of the number of employees in

<sup>1</sup> *The Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs*, 1924.

Brooklyn industries to the total population of the borough is about one-half as high in Brooklyn as in Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> Of course, many of those employed in Brooklyn reside in other boroughs. Apparently, about one-half, perhaps somewhat less, of the residents of Brooklyn are supported by local employment.

"Eendraght maagt maght" was a motto of old Peter Stuyvesant—"Union makes strength." It was an apt motto for Breuckelen, a village in a marshy section of the Island of Nassau, incorporated in 1646, the year before Peter became governor. This village was the third Dutch settlement on the island, and was intermediate in position between the others, Gowanus and Wall-boght (Wallabout). Boswijck (Bushwick), Gravesande, New Utrecht, and Amersfoort (later Flatlands) soon followed at other convenient points along the shore. Bedford was built a little inland, as a farm and trading center, and Midwout, "in the midst of the woods." The growth of Brooklyn has been marked by the unification of these hamlets. This development has supplied the groundpattern for the neighborhood traditions which still persist among Brooklyn residents. The English governor who succeeded Stuyvesant granted a patent to the united five towns of Breuckelen, Wallabout, The Ferry, Gowanus and Bedford, in 1667. After Brooklyn received its city charter in 1834 the incorporation of other sections followed rapidly. Williamsburg and Bushwick were added in 1855, then successively New Lots, Flatbush, Gravesend, New Utrecht, and finally Flatlands in 1896.

The Brooklyn Bridge, completed in 1883, is an historic landmark in the unification of Brooklyn and Manhattan.

<sup>2</sup> This ratio is found by comparing the number of employees for each locality as reported by the United States Bureau of Commerce Census of Manufactures for the year 1927, with the estimated population of each area for that year.



Built under the direction of the Roeblings, father and son, hailed on its completion as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, it is still an inspiring edifice. One may walk on this bridge, high over the harbor, from the old Borough Hall to the new Municipal Building in Manhattan in about thirty minutes. It is a favorite promenade on summer evenings. The unlighted Municipal Building looms up impressively but it is dominated by the commercial buildings about Wall Street, their skyline coming to a focus in the illuminated spire of the Bank of Manhattan. The blazing sign of *Vorwärts* and the gilded but somewhat tarnished dome of *The World* suggest the variety of intellectual backgrounds which are expressed through the commercial forces of metropolitan mass culture. Warehouses line the harbor. Turning toward Brooklyn, one sees the lighted hotel towers on the Heights rising above wharves and factories. But Brooklyn, a city of homes, is hidden from sight—a vast area of tenements, apartments and private houses, loosely knit into a score of fairly distinct half-self-conscious sections with local boards of trade, neighborhood news sheets, synagogues or churches, motion picture theaters, delicatessens and schools. The residents of this area are, in varying degrees, citizens of sectional communities, of a borough, of a metropolis, of a nation, and of a world civilization, all cut across by many factional interests.

The very size of Brooklyn has recently favored some counter-developments in the creation of independent borough institutions, such as the organization of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce in 1918, and the recent provision for a Brooklyn College under municipal auspices. An outsider is still surprised by the amount of community consciousness and the entente between leaders in civic enterprises; but older Brooklyn residents say

that this is now much less pronounced than in former years. There is, however, a sufficient degree of what in the best sense of the word may be called "provinciality" in Brooklyn to make possible the effective promotion of community civic enterprises and significant social experiments. The formation of the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education is itself a significant indication of this fact. At the same time the population served by any Brooklyn institution must be thought of simply as constituting a part of a vast metropolitan society rather than as a self-contained or responsive community.

A majority of the residents of Brooklyn are American citizens of foreign parentage—including naturalized foreign-born and native Americans only one of whose parents was foreign-born, as well as native children both of whose parents were born "on the other side." Aliens made up 20 per cent, and native-born of native parentage 17 per cent of the population, in 1920. It is estimated by the Urban League that the colored population now constitutes about 3 per cent of the total.

According to the estimate of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research for the year 1928, four out of every twelve residents of Brooklyn are Jews. The Catholic population of the borough was reported for the same year as 597,000, so that about three out of every twelve Brooklynites are Catholics. The Protestant church membership in 1928-29 was 153,400, and the Sunday School enrollment, 104,400. Allowing for overlapping between church and Sunday School lists, it may be estimated that somewhat over 15 per cent of the population six years of age or over is enrolled in Protestant institutions. Many others, of course, have Protestant affiliations. It must be recognized, however, that religious affiliation in many cases is merely nominal or quite uncertain. Of those who



answered the Conference questionnaire 24 per cent neglected the question as to religious affiliation, but only 4 per cent explicitly reported "none."

Money incomes are lower in Brooklyn than in Manhattan but higher than in Philadelphia. Using the United States Department of Commerce figures for 1927, the average yearly wage paid to wage-earners in Brooklyn industries was \$1,508. This is \$74 less than that paid in Manhattan but \$134 more than that paid in Philadelphia. Some 5 per cent of the total population of Brooklyn made individual tax payments that year in contrast to 12 per cent in Manhattan and 4 per cent in Philadelphia.

In such metropolitan areas there necessarily is a wide scatter of occupations, with relatively high percentages employed in clerical and commercial work, in contrast to the distribution in the nation at large. Of Brooklyn residents reporting occupations in 1920, 13 per cent of the men and 33 per cent of the women were clerical workers, not including salesclerks; and 18 per cent of the men and 9 per cent of the women were engaged in trade and finance. These percentages have probably increased in line with the general trend of recent economic changes in the United States. Five per cent of the men and 9 per cent of the women were listed in the professional groups. Some 12 per cent of the men reporting occupations were engaged in transportation, and about 4 per cent in public service, including policemen, firemen, etc. Forty-four per cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The most important Brooklyn industries, listed in order of number of employees in 1927, are these: garment trades (men's and women's combined), boots and shoes, foundry and machine shops, knit goods, ship-

building, baking, electrical supplies, furniture, non-ferrous metals, confectionery, paints, foods (other than baking, confectionery or meats), bags, silk products, and meats.

#### IV. A GLANCE AT BROOKLYN INSTITUTIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Although many Brooklyn residents study elsewhere in Greater New York, many more go to school in their own borough and use Brooklyn libraries for reference and literature. The public school register of Brooklyn is larger than that of any other borough. Furthermore, the data collected by the Conference, after returns gathered directly through institutions for adult education have been eliminated, show that 81 per cent of all who report special adult courses since leaving day school have taken some if not all of this work in Brooklyn institutions. A majority of those who report that they have taken all such courses outside of Brooklyn have reference to work taken in other cities, outside of Greater New York. These figures do not include evening work in completion of regular academic credit or attendance at special classes in English for the foreign-born. It is apparent that the lion's share of the responsibility for the education of the Brooklyn population rests with Brooklyn institutions.

In the field of adult education the public school system provides (1) regular high school courses in evening sessions on the same basis as in day sessions in practically all fields except the technical, (2) miscellaneous trade courses usually limited to persons already engaged in the particular fields in which they enroll, (3) evening and day classes in English for the foreign-born, and (4)

the evening sessions of the Brooklyn Branches of the College of the City of New York and Hunter College. Last year there were 6,000 evening students enrolled in these two public institutions on the collegiate level. There are other miscellaneous public school provisions for adult education, of lesser magnitude or importance.

There are two outstanding public day schools for vocational education in Brooklyn, the Girls' Commercial High School and the Brooklyn Technical High School, in addition to various industrial and commercial courses given in other high schools. There is at present a small Boys' Industrial High School with meager facilities. A Girls' Industrial High School is under construction. Fifty thousand employed boys and girls<sup>3</sup> attend continuation schools in Brooklyn each year, in commandeered offices and old elementary school buildings. There is no co-operative school in Brooklyn, on the work-a-week study-a-week plan as developed in the Haaren High School in Manhattan.

The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences is one of the oldest and largest institutions of adult education in America. It was originally established as an Apprentices' Library Association. General La Fayette laid the cornerstone of its first building in 1825. The Education Department maintains extensive lecture, forum and concert programs, drawing a total annual attendance in recent years of nearly 300,000. There are some 7,000 members enrolled in a wide variety of classes, including astronomy, botany, dramatic arts, fine arts, music, pedagogy, home economics, electricity, psychology, and political science. About 25 per cent of the members are teachers enrolled in the School of Pedagogy. The institute enjoys the pat-

<sup>3</sup> Total pupil enrollment during the year 1927-28. About one-half are on the rolls at any one time, and these are divided, of course, into shifts.



ronage of many of the older and more prosperous Brooklyn families.

The Brooklyn Botanic Garden, the Brooklyn Museum and the Children's Museum are also branches of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. The Botanic Garden carries on a very extensive educational program, ranging from the distribution of 795,000 seed packets to school children throughout Greater New York and the supply of living materials and lantern slides for nature study, biology and geography classes, conferences with teachers, to advanced laboratory research and a series of courses in botany and gardening given at the Garden. Both the Central Brooklyn Museum and the Children's Museum carry on extensive educational work for public, parochial, and private school children.

The Brooklyn Public Library system has a separate board of directors but draws its support from general funds appropriated for library purposes by the City of New York. A system of thirty-four branch libraries is maintained. These minister to the needs of scattered Brooklyn neighborhoods. There is also, and has been for some time, a partially completed structure near Prospect Park designed to house a central Brooklyn Public Library.

The two oldest institutions of higher education in Brooklyn, popularly known as "Packer" and "Poly," were founded in the years 1853 and 1854 respectively. Both are located within a stone's throw of the old Borough Hall. Packer Collegiate Institute is a private school, maintaining some work on the collegiate level. It does not, however, carry on any formal adult education.

The Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn has initiated some new developments in the field of technical educa-

tion. It was also one of the first institutions in the United States to establish regular engineering courses on a full credit basis in evening sessions. This was in 1904. Since then such provisions have been established by several other engineering colleges throughout the country. More recently the same college has set a new precedent in the establishment of evening courses leading to graduate degrees.

Pratt Institute comprises a group of schools that are of unusual interest to students of adult education,—schools of Art, Technology, Household Science and Library Service. Pratt Institute was established in 1887 “to promote industrial education.” It has consistently avoided entangling academic traditions. It provides day and evening courses on a high educational level, in specific preparation for various lines of production and service, with very elastic entrance requirements, at low cost, granting certificates but no academic degrees. The Pratt Institute Free Library, in contrast to most collegiate libraries, is designed for general community service. The success of Pratt Institute has considerably affected the development of other educational institutions in the country.

There are three Catholic colleges in Brooklyn, St. Francis' College, founded in 1858, St. John's College, and St. Joseph's College, established as a college for women in 1916. One of these schools, St. John's College, includes four divisions with opportunities for evening study in all departments.

Adelphi College was organized in 1896 as an outgrowth of Adelphi Academy. The college was originally coeducational, but after a few years it was restricted to women. The first college classes given in late afternoon, evening and Saturday sessions in Brooklyn were offered by



Adelphi College in 1898. Adelphi Academy, a coeducational preparatory school, remains in Brooklyn, although the college has recently moved to Garden City.

There are two law schools in Brooklyn, the Brooklyn Law School of St. Lawrence University and St. John's Law School. The Long Island College of Medicine has been, until the last year, a part of the Long Island College Hospital.

In the field of pedagogy, in addition to schools already mentioned, there is the Maxwell Training School, under the Board of Education, and the private Flatbush Teacher Training School. The Teachers' Association of Brooklyn maintains a system of courses for the further development of teachers already on the job.

The Young Men's Christian Association was a pioneer in the field of adult education, beginning an educational department in Brooklyn as early as 1853. The Association now offers business, academic, industrial, technical and art courses organized in various schools and groupings. The Young Women's Christian Association maintains the Girls' Central School. There are several thousand students enrolled in these Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. schools, most of them studying along academic or commercial lines. These Associations also provide various informal educational services, such as lectures, conferences, and reading rooms.

Education, if administered quickly and efficiently in fields of great demand, may be a very profitable business. There is no reliable estimate available of the number of private schools, including commercial schools, regents' preparatory classes, trade schools, music schools and so forth, in Brooklyn, but the number is very large. The last Eagle Almanac (1928) listed 77 such schools. Most of these schools are not large. The normal enrollment in the

better private commercial schools ranges from 100 to 1,000, usually about equally divided between day and evening students.

Institutions of higher education in Brooklyn seem to be going through a metamorphosis. The Brooklyn branches of the College of the City of New York and Hunter College, operating under the Board of Higher Education of New York City, have rapidly expanded in recent years. Now a unified Brooklyn College, which will serve both men and women, is in process of organization. Long Island University and Seth Low Junior College (a branch of Columbia University) have both been established within the last three years. St. Joseph's College has just become established in its permanent location. The Brooklyn Law School and the downtown departments of St. John's College have also recently moved into new and adequate buildings. The Long Island College of Medicine, having severed its exclusive affiliation with Long Island College Hospital, is undergoing radical reorganization as a Brooklyn medical school center. The College of Pharmacy, recently incorporated in Long Island University, is also being reorganized and expanded.

Some of the most important adult education is carried on outside of formal classes, libraries and museums. Much attention will be given to community educational organizations in the following pages, but it is impractical to offer at this point any preliminary general survey of the existing agencies in this field.

The following chapters will deal with the more intimate aspects of adult education in one metropolitan area. An attempt will be made to chart major trends in the making of adult minds in so far as "adult minds" are being made—and to see how present institutional programs affect these trends and how new institutions and new

methods might lead in some cases to superior results. The basis for these findings will be sought in the records of individual experiences. It is hoped that recognition of the scope of this program will make the reader chary and critical but will not discourage him from making the adventure.

## CHAPTER I

### A FEW RESIDENTS OF BROOKLYN: THEIR EDUCATION

A special effort was made by the director to gain, in an informal way through first hand contacts, as much insight as possible into the range of values found, or not found, in different types of education by different individuals in different circumstances. This experience has conditioned many of the interpretations given to the data presented. This chapter is an attempt to share with the reader a representative sampling of such concrete material, as a check on the generalizations which must be developed in subsequent chapters.

These pictures are direct accounts. In some cases the circumstances have necessitated the substitution of names and details so as to disguise identity. In other instances, where it was felt that this substitution would detract from the representation, permission has been secured to set forth short biographical notes without disguise. Several essays,<sup>1</sup> submitted in the Brooklyn Daily Times Adult Education Contest, are included where the materials are à propos of the purpose at hand.

The materials in this chapter are not intended as testimonials to the power of education. In some cases, persons have gotten along very well with very little systematic study. In other cases, courses have been of doubtful value. The records simply give a few different answers to the question, "What does education mean in an individ-

<sup>1</sup> Accounts numbered 4, 10, 11, 12 in this chapter.



ual's life?" It would have been easy to present fifty or a hundred such accounts, but a sufficient number has perhaps been given to indicate the variety and a few of the main types of answers that may be given to this question.

1. *Gus Politrides—Mass culture in a coffee pot*

Gus is literally "chief cook and bottle washer" of the G. P. Coffee Pot, although he usually has one or two hirelings. The walls of the Coffee Pot are bright and clean—Gus painted them himself when he moved in last fall. There is a highly varnished electric radio at the end of the room, where guests can get jazz from their favorite station for a nickel. There is a bowl of gold-fish in the window. The wax floral wreath bearing "Goodwill and Success" to the new venture (purchased by G. P. himself) adorned the window for several months. In as much as Gus, né Constantino, is proud to be a Greek, there is on the wall a picture of Venizelos, the world's greatest statesman, and of Alice Diplarakas, the most beautiful woman in the world. Gus presides—at first it was with an air something like that of the Diety on the seventh day of creation. He greets his patrons with a gaiety and friendliness that is more than professional.

Gus says that he entered the United States alone at fourteen, giving his age at the time as eighteen. His few years of formal schooling were all taken in Greece before that time. He first learned English, he said, "in the movies, and afterwards from the newspapers." "Movies and newspapers," remarked Gus, generalizing on his own experience, "are the great education in American life." He later stated, however, that he went to evening school two weeks in Albany, and this was a real help, because "the woman in that class was wonderful. She was what you call a natural teacher." He twice entered evening classes in New York City but found conditions discouraging and only stayed one or two evenings in each case. He used to read "the big papers" and he still buys the Sunday New York Times once in a while, but since "the little papers" came out he prefers them as more convenient and easier to read. Also, he used to read the "literary gest" (Literary Digest) sometimes. But in this new business he has no time to read. In fact, he takes



only four or five hours sleep, supplemented by a short nap in the afternoon. He is unmarried. The restaurant is his life, occupying brain, hand and heart. He has a friend, who came as a youngster from the same town, went through an American university, and has become a doctor. "He is married now, and makes big money." Gus doesn't call on him any more, thinking that perhaps he isn't wanted, and having no time anyway; but he does not envy him.

Gus, although he is still young, has worked in "twenty different states." He has opinions on many topics. He uses a fairly large vocabulary, but is uncertain of some of his pronunciations. He said he doesn't believe any more in any particular religion, but thinks that every one should have respect for some religion, "if not about God, then about humanity." Once in a while he goes into a Catholic church, or a Greek church, indifferently, when no service is going on, just to look about, or to sit down and be very quiet for a few minutes. He welcomes Negroes at his counter. He described race discrimination in the South as follows: "In the South," he explained, "you have to feed just the blacks or just the whites. It has to be that way, because there are so many of the blacks. But Southern people like the blacks better than Northern people do. They stay in the home with them, eat from their hands, but then when they go outside it is kind of hiposy (hypocrisy)—they have to go separate."

Sometimes, when he had free evenings, he used to attend a political rally or listen to speeches over the radio. But above all he loved, on special occasions, to go to Madison Square Garden to see the fights. "That is the most fun in the world." He used to wrestle somewhat, himself, as a youth. I asked Gus if he ever went into art museums. He answered, "Oh yes, I know. I went into one in New Orleans—beautiful pictures on all the walls, very nice."

As the winter has worn on, Gus has grown somewhat more serious. Sometimes he has difficulty in understanding the accounts presented by the tradesmen with whom he deals. Sometimes the customers grumble and curse the food, but Gus says that it is good and that they will come back. More recently the industrial depression has affected his business, too. He has become less exuberant.

Frankly, the writer has come to feel a good deal of affection

for this enterprising new American and has frequently dropped into his shop for a certain indefinable "lift." This man with little systematic education of any sort has made a place for himself where he "belongs," and where he can live with verve. Endowed with native wit, and open to the swift communication of ideas in modern society, he probably has a more rational approach to most problems than many a highly educated man of a previous century. If he marries, as he probably will, his children may easily take full advantage of American educational opportunities.

*2. Paulina—Italian factory worker*<sup>2</sup>

Paulina packs dates. She has been packing rows of dates into paper boxes every day for the last three years, except Sundays and, during the summer, Saturdays. Next year she will have been with the company four years and will be entitled to two weeks respite with pay. She met "the man from the schools" with a smile, being slightly self-conscious, but welcoming a break in the routine, on company's time, for Paulina and her associates have been working on a day rate since the installation of a belt system of machine packing last winter.

Asked how far she had gone in school, Paulina answered promptly and somewhat proudly, "I graduated."<sup>3</sup> After that, of course, she went to compulsory continuation school for two years. The continuation school she said "is all right." She "liked it."<sup>4</sup> Obviously in her case it has been of no vocational assistance—one doesn't need to go to school to become an unskilled factory employee. But the company where she is employed has always taken a coöperative attitude toward continuation school requirements, so the school has not stood in the way of any position which she has been ambitious to

<sup>2</sup> A composite picture, representing typical attitudes of twenty-five young Italian women interviewed in a fruit packing company. All materials are taken verbatim from interview reports. The reliability of the composition, at several points, is indicated by numbers given in the footnotes.

<sup>3</sup> Sixteen of the total 25 finished grammar school; 7 left after completing six or seven grades only; 2 had entered high school, both of whom attended one year only.

<sup>4</sup> Thirteen out of the 18 continuation school girls gave favorable answers; 5 said it was "no good."

obtain. She took up "typing, dressmaking and nursing" successively. She said, "Of course, I couldn't learn much about typing in two hours a week, but I did learn a good many things in the sewing class." In fact, she later said that sewing is one of the things which she enjoys most in her free time.<sup>5</sup> Under the strict Italian discipline she is never allowed to go out evenings, and the sewing affords an accomplishment in which she can take some pride, something that she can do on her own initiative. It is also possible that an important reason for Paulina's favorable attitude toward the continuation school was that it afforded a relief from factory discipline, and a new field of experience in a very limited life.

Paulina had never been employed before, although a number of her friends had worked for a time in garment sweat shops, frequently after school hours before they were old enough to get their working papers.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that none of the girls who had been forced to do needlework at an early age mentioned sewing as a pleasurable way of spending free time.

It is difficult to realize what a shut-in life Paulina leads. Although she has been doing the same routine work in the factory for several years it is comparatively interesting to her.<sup>7</sup> The restrictions of home life weigh much more heavily upon her spirit than the requirements of industry. She said she used to go to the public library once in a while when she was at school but she has fallen out of the habit since going to work. She sees the *Daily News* or the *Mirror* almost every day. Once she borrowed "Little Women" from the library, and every now and then she buys a twenty-five cent paper novel at the candy

<sup>5</sup> Fourteen out of 25 girls gave sewing, and 3 gave cooking as a favorite free time pursuit. A majority of these credited continuation school with help in development of this interest. The sewing is mostly novelty work, such as lamp-shades, fancy work, or "facing over" dresses and hats. Few of Paulina's friends attempt to make their own clothes.

<sup>6</sup> Of the 9 girls reporting previous employment, 8 had worked in the garment trades, including cutting goods in an underwear factory, inspecting dresses, sewing beads, and making artificial flowers. Two of these and 1 other girl had done other kinds of factory work or saleswork.

<sup>7</sup> Ten reported enjoying their work, without any hesitancy. Twelve admitted some hesitancy or qualification. Three answered "No" to the question, "Do you enjoy the work here?" In this connection it is important to remember that the girls understood that no names were to be taken and no reports made to the company regarding individual answers.



store, "Accusing Fingers" or "How Much Can a Woman Forgive?" Her mother doesn't like to have her read "because it is bad for her eyes." She now goes straight home from work, and of course she is not allowed out in the evening. The family had a radio but it got out of order. A radio is nice—"It braces up the house." Her cousins have a radio, and she loves to listen to jazz, true stories, or occasionally a speech, when she is at their home. She attends mass every Sunday and enjoys novenas and missions very much. Sometimes on Sunday afternoons she has a chance to go to the movies. Once in a while there is a party, "when one of the aunts gets engaged." But these are high spots. Daily life, outside of "working hours," consists mostly of more work at home, varied by playing with the younger children or "visiting" with girls her own age.

She would like to take up office work or beauty culture, but she is not sure of her ability to do office work and the beauty culture course is too expensive. It seems to be easiest just to keep on as she is. She would greatly enjoy a course in sewing or perhaps in English; and if such courses were given at the church or under company auspices she would probably be allowed to attend.<sup>8</sup> It is also possible that her father might be induced to let her attend a class at the public school.

Paulina is quiet and eager. She displays no great natural ability and certainly has no well formulated intellectual interests. In a few years her life will become even more confined, but just now she is very amenable to any intellectual leadership. She would readily accept any simple intellectual program that she could secure with parental approval. One condition of such approval would be the absence of any expense.

### 3. *A stenographer cultivates the Muses*

Constance O'Toole is a young woman with white hair, blue eyes, and finely cut features. She has an air of self-confidence and quiet reserve. Her father was a charter member of the photo-engravers' union in New York City. Her mother's father, back in Ireland, was an artist, not professional but recognized by his neighbors and friends as a man of marked talent. Con-

<sup>8</sup> Of the 21 answering the question about the possibility of company courses, 8 liked the idea, 1 rejected it, and 12 were doubtful or uncertain in their answers.

stance's early artistic interests were quickened by Aunt Jean's children's section in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle. She won her first prize at the age of ten, and frequently contributed drawings and verses during the next five or six years. She attended parochial school until entering the public high school, and is to-day a devoted Catholic.

In high school her interests ran strongly to languages, Latin, French and Spanish; but she was also interested in history and economics. She was forced to leave before graduation, and did routine office work for three years. During this time, however, she completed her high school academic course. She then turned her attention to securing a better business equipment. A business school course, together with her linguistic studies, opened to her a position as translator and stenographer with an importing company.

At about twenty-three she commenced to take up art work again, now with a vocational motive. She enrolled in a correspondence course in commercial art, and has followed this, off and on, for the last five years. She has also taken short correspondence courses in psychology and in piano. More recently she has taken courses in poetry and in French in evening classes at the College of the City of New York.

On a trip to Bermuda she met an editor who published some of her poetry in a Bermuda paper. One of these poems was later awarded a prize in a London contest. A number of others poems have been published in Catholic periodicals. Much but not all of her verse is religious. She said she was very fond of a Southern Catholic bard, Father Ryan; but she had never heard of Francis Thompson.

Gradually she has come to doubt the likelihood of being able to follow art as a profession, and has come to regard her artistic interests as a thing apart. In the meantime she has left the importing house and taken a position as stenographer and bookkeeper with a public utility company, which affords better pay. She is a member of a neighborhood club, a poetry club, and a Democratic organization. She enjoys drama and opera, but her favorite radio programs are the Berlitz School of Languages' hours. She rides horseback and plays tennis. She reads fiction, literary magazines, history, religion and politics. But her favorite hobbies are studying commercial displays and trying her hand at sketching.



*4 Gas tester, analyst, educational administrator*

"Evening study began for me when I reached the age of sixteen and registered for a course in stenography and type-writing at Browne's Business College, at the suggestion of my employer, Mr. E. C. Uhlig, chief chemist, The Brooklyn Union Gas Company. This course required five nights a week, and the tuition was five dollars monthly. During the fourteen months necessary to receive a diploma, however, I was promoted from messenger to clerk, and began to use stenography in my work.

"As I had discontinued high school while a junior, it was disquieting to reflect that my education was apparently at a standstill. During this period of orientation there came to the company Mr. J. R. Brierley, just graduated from the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Class of 1910. He persuaded me to investigate the Evening Department of the Polytechnic. Rather awe-stricken, I soon visited the Institute. After a few minutes of patient listening, with that immediate personal interest he took in every applicant, the late Director Charles A. Green genially banished all the imaginary fears concerning my being admitted. From a list of subjects required for a degree, the same curriculum as taken by day students, I compiled a complete schedule by years, varying from three to five nights a week.

"Beginning in October, 1911, I made considerable progress for the next six years. The shorthand proved useful for taking lecture notes. Mr. Uhlig gave me every encouragement, and enabled me to maintain a high record of attendance. My social life included chiefly the social affairs of the college. The student publications attracted me, and I served on the Student Council. The World War interrupted my schedule for two years, but after it was ended I returned to the Polytechnic. The two years remaining were comparatively easy, and in 1921 I was admitted to the degree of B. S. in Chemistry.

"Each of the eight years necessary to win my degree averaged in expense perhaps \$100. Meanwhile I had advanced through the position of gas tester to that of head analyst. Moreover, contact with the faculty of the Institute as a whole was inspiring and students I met became friends—some of the best I ever knew. Even the travel incidental to the war service meant more because I had broadened somewhat

intellectually. After graduating, I attended until 1923, leisurely to supplement the knowledge already obtained. I interested myself next in alumni activities for several years. In 1925 I married and shortly afterward joined the evening instructing staff at the Polytechnic and have since had time only for a two-year correspondence course, 'Manufactured Gas,' given by Columbia University.

"The purpose of education is to draw out and develop the worth-while characteristics in an individual. The use he makes of his opportunities thereafter has no limit. Knowledge is pleasure as well as power. Certainly I am further advanced than I would have been had educational institutions been closed to me when I entered the business world some twenty years ago."<sup>9</sup>

#### 5. *A technical ascetic*

F. Stanley Thompson came to his room in a small hotel where I had been waiting for him, just a little after ten o'clock. He greeted me cordially, and was very ready to tell me about his educational experiences and his vocational advancement. He had just returned from a class at Pratt Institute, School of Science and Technology, where he has been attending three evenings a week during the last two years.

Mr. Thompson is thirty-seven years old. He has thin black hair, already slightly gray. The lines of his face are hard-set. He is single, and lives alone. He said, when asked about leisure-time interests, that he had had practically no time for any interests outside of work and study during the last five years. He had devoted himself to technical studies with the same exclusive zeal with which young men in the Middle Ages sometimes gave themselves to penance and prayers. He spoke of another young man whom he had urged to take up more serious studies, but the fellow had refused. "I told him it would put money in his pocket," Mr. Thompson said, "but it conflicted with his activities as officer of a lodge, and he was unwilling to sacrifice any of his material pleasures."

Mr. Thompson attended preparatory school during two years in a Baptist academy near his home town in Massachusetts.

<sup>9</sup> The writer is now Assistant to the Director of the Evening Session, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

He studied telegraphy by himself, and at the age of sixteen he was given a position as local railway station-agent. At nineteen he joined the Navy, and served four years. During this period he took advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the Navy, to study electricity. When he returned home he reëntered the academy and completed his academic course. He was especially proficient in mathematics. During the war he again enlisted in the Navy and was assigned a post of considerable responsibility, having supervision of some important electrical construction work. After this he again returned to his home and ran a small grocery business for three years. In 1925 he came to New York City. Since then he has been enrolled in correspondence courses or in schools most of the time. To-day he is vice-president of a public utility corporation. Meanwhile he is continuing his technical studies. His friends at school are wholly unaware of his executive responsibilities.

He now feels a certain lack in his social and professional contacts with other business men. He expects to remedy this defect by taking another course, a course in business administration.

#### *6. A Connecticut youth masters "the common branches"*

Joe Craig is one of the few surviving representatives of the aboriginal Connecticut. His parents died when he was very young and he was brought up by an aunt. Neither his guardian nor the state seems to have insisted on very much formal education for Joe, as he can recall only five years of day schooling,—four grades of public school and a year in a parochial school. In his early teens he was a factory worker, and states with pride that he received three dollars per week. He also enjoyed proud moments as an altar boy on Sunday mornings. But he longed for outdoor life, which, as he said, he "came by natural." And so he worked happily for the next seven or eight years in rough outdoor labor, usually with a pick or shovel, finally drifting to New York. When Joe was twenty-seven, a solicitor from a correspondence school, usually considered to be one of the best, aroused his ambition and enrolled him in a general course to make up for his deficiencies in schooling, collecting altogether \$110. Joe followed the



course earnestly for six months but with little comprehension or sense of progress. He reports, "They would give me back my papers marked 100, 90 or 95, but I usually didn't know what the work was about." "Didn't the corrector give you any individual instructions or point out your mistakes and weak points?" asked the interviewer. "Oh yes, once in a while there would be a red mark when the teacher wanted me to do the example a different way, but usually I couldn't find out what her way was." Feeling very discouraged, Joe took his study sheets to a teacher in a public school evening session for help. He found this teacher very kind and understanding, and eventually enrolled in the study of "the common branches" for three evenings a week at the public school, following this course for three years until he finally received a certificate of the completion of the grammar grades. He feels very kindly toward the public schools as a whole and especially to the first teacher who gave his efforts such helpful direction.

Joe is now employed in a Brooklyn foundry. He would prefer outdoor but his present position affords steadier work. He has married very recently. His wife has about as much education as he has, but no more. He says that they have been thinking about keeping on in evening school together, taking up high school subjects, but that they have been discouraged by the necessity of attending five nights per week; he did not know that it is possible to register for more limited attendance. He is also afraid that he and his wife would never be able to complete the course.

The leisure-time interests of the Craigs are necessarily rather limited. Mr. Craig used to be active in a Redmen's Lodge; but at present his only institutional affiliation is with the Roman Catholic Church, where he and his wife are faithful and regular attendants. They attend the movies three times a week on the average. There are, of course, the household tasks to be performed. Both enjoy reading the papers and novels. Joe's favorite author is Zane Grey, and the subject in the news sheets that interests him most is prize fights. Joe represents the modest, serious-minded, inarticulate citizen, capable of steady but never brilliant educational progress, without great initiative or ability and rather easily led.

*7. A collector*

Frederick House is known in his shop as a jolly fellow and a good workman. As soon as working hours are over he is a student and art collector, but he doesn't talk about these things in the shop—"Most of the fellows have no appreciation of these interests and consider the fellow who goes in for this sort of thing a nut."

Mr. House is middle-aged now, slightly bald and slightly stout. He had to go to work at twelve, after completing the seventh grade. He would like to have gone further and did attend evening school for a year and a half but was forced to drop this when night work interfered. He was employed in a factory at that time, and the overtime work when demanded was practically compulsory. He served three years apprenticeship in auto-mechanics and then turned to chauffeuring, which he followed for sixteen years. He experimented with a course in plumbing at the Y. M. C. A., and completed it satisfactorily. However, he found the actual work distasteful, and after a short try-out abandoned it. He is now a metal polisher, and finds this work something in which he can take pride. His income in this work is less than in chauffeuring but he prefers it because he likes the craft. He has sometimes thought of setting up in business for himself, and a former employer once offered to lend him the necessary capital, but he was afraid to make the venture.

In spite of his well developed hobbies, Mr. House has a considerable range and a fair balance of interests. He follows the sports, being especially interested in wrestling and basketball. He enjoys social life and parties, but has no home of his own. He lives alone in one room. He attends the movies, vaudeville and the lighter shows as well as occasional symphony concerts and Shakespearian drama, to which he is especially devoted. He goes to church occasionally but although he was brought up as a Catholic he admits that at present his interests are rather eclectic—"I like the beauty of the Catholic service and sometimes go to mass, but I believe that a man should act as his own control. I also find help in Christian Science; and I make a point of hearing a good Protestant minister whenever I get a chance." His favorite newspaper is *The New York Times*. He has a library of about five hundred volumes, and reads widely, including fiction,



history, biography, mechanics, economics and general science. He buys regularly or subscribes to *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, *Harper's* and *Scribner's*. He visits museums frequently, especially art museums, and in art museums, especially the print collections.

His own collections have run chiefly along three lines: early American prints, old editions of books including several "old editions of Shakespeare," and the newspaper clippings of the first mention of great events. He believes that some of his prints are now of considerable commercial value. He now pays ten dollars per month to a commercial storage company because his collections have quite overrun his lodgings and having once lost some materials in a fire he is anxious to run no further risks. His flair for collections was originally derived from the influence of no less a person than the late P. T. Barnum. It seems that Fred as a boy was a member of a club sponsored by the great circus man, in which the latter took a very real personal interest. Among other things he inspired the boys with an interest in the collection of prints, in which he himself indulged to quite an extent. With Fred the infection went deep and it has dominated his whole life.

Mr. House is not the only art, literary or scientific collector encountered in the Brooklyn study, but he is perhaps the most interesting. These collectors and "hobby-riders" constitute a very interesting group. Some of them are conspicuously maladjusted in work or home or both; others, quite as well adjusted as their neighbors, also add hobbies as an outlet for unusual intellectual energy and originality. Some are conspicuously ineffectual and gullible; others make unique and significant contributions in the fields they explore. The person described in this sketch stands between these extremes. His intellectual development has obviously lacked and perhaps might have profited by formal training.

#### *8. Mechanics and music*

Peter Tibbetts is a brisk, ambitious young American who is quite enthusiastic about the benefits he has received from various lines of study since leaving day school. He went to work at thirteen, upon graduation from the grammar school. After spending some time in blind-alley jobs he entered a large

manufacturing industry as an apprentice in pattern-making. Meanwhile he had spent about eight hours a week in evening high school over a period of six years, completing three years academic credits, specializing in technical courses, such as mechanical drawing, shop mathematics, trigonometry and physics. He also profited by some evening courses offered at the plant where he was employed. Shortly after he had completed his apprenticeship he was thrown out of work by a technological shift, but he soon found employment again as a machinist in a Brooklyn shop. In addition to eight hours per day of industrial work he has supplemented his income during the last two years by giving some of his evenings to selling insurance.

Mr. Tibbetts has a good voice. Three years ago at the suggestion of a friend he began taking vocal lessons from a private teacher. He believes that he received excellent training at what he considers to be a very moderate rate, three dollars per hour. He has developed so rapidly in skill in popular music that he is considering entering this field as a vocation. He is already manager of a male quartet. This quartet spends three evenings a week together, rehearsing or singing for clubs and churches or radio broadcasting.

Evenings devoted to music or selling insurance cut into other leisure-time interests rather badly, but these are by no means wholly crowded out. The penchant for popular music is reflected in Mr. Tibbetts' enjoyment of concerts, vaudeville and musical shows. He also enjoys sports and is fond of camping. He is quite devoted to children, and spends much of his time at home entertaining his sister's children, telling them stories, reading to them, and otherwise sharing their company and amusements; but he has given little attention to finding a mate for himself. He has the idea that he has formed the habit of spending so many nights away from home that perhaps he isn't very good "matrimonial material."

In the course of the interview Mr. Tibbetts stressed the desirability of some agency for the guidance of persons desiring musical training. He feels that in his own case he was very fortunate in the teacher with whom he happened to make contact, but cites the case of a friend whose voice, naturally quite good, was nearly ruined by a poor teacher, whose charges incidentally were quite excessive.

*9. Education in a Hebrew home*

"Years ago in Europe there wasn't any good system of schools. The circumstances confronting my parents didn't permit them to cover expenses of giving me an education. The Russian Government was corrupt as far as education was concerned. They didn't provide free schools for the poor people and cared little whether or not they were illiterate.

"At last I was going to America. I boarded the boat at Antwerp. The trip on the boat seemed very strange to me, as I was never on a transatlantic liner before. The conditions in the third class are not very pleasant for one to experience. Seasickness and homesickness are strong enough to mar the enjoyment of a voyage for anyone. At last on a lucky day in September we sighted a huge figure standing in the middle of the bay as if to say 'Welcome.' Before we knew it we had docked and everyone was herded into Castle Garden on which site now stands the Aquarium. The next day I left Castle Garden to start my career in America.

"Immediately I went to work to earn my living and also to aid my parents on the other side. My relatives to whom I came were also illiterate and were not eager to inform me that there were evening schools where I could go and learn the English language. All that they desired was that I earn money and do housekeeping for them during the evening.

"A few years passed and I was married. In my estimation keeping a house, raising a family, and bearing many hardships is enough work to keep any person busy through every minute of the day and even into the deep hours of the night. My time was so occupied. I was always interested in the political world, but more than that in knowing the meanings of some of our Country's National Holidays.

"As my children started school and I was left home alone most of the time, I decided to fulfill my everlasting wish. Especially when they started higher classes, I began to feel inferior towards them and wished I was educated.

"Therefore I began to search for a source of obtaining an education no matter how little it would be. I joined the Day Classes in English and immediately became enthusiastic about them. Studying English for me was a rather difficult undertaking.

"As time elapsed I finally reached my goal, that of being



able to read and write English, and also of being able to carry on a conversation with my children.

"We should be grateful to our Government for providing an education for us and for our children. Such opportunity for a free education was next to impossible for the poor in the old country."

*10. Another immigrant mother's story*

"I was born in a small town in Poland in 1878. My parents were religious folks who believed in Hebrew education only. To read a Polish or Russian book was a sin they thought. I was married at 20 years of age. My husband was an educated man. In seven years we had four children. Three girls, and one boy. We could not make a living in Poland so my husband went to America in 1906. He became a Hebrew teacher and saved enough money in a few years to send for his family. A year after I came to America, another son was born. We were poor and could not afford any help so I worked very hard to keep my family well and clean. When my children were of age they began to go to school and I began to worry about how they could be educated when my circumstances were so poor. All my children graduated high school. My oldest son was 15 years old when he graduated high school. He was very smart in mathematics. He got a scholarship from Bridgeport High School for Yale College. We were very happy about it and we worked very hard to help our boy to go to college. My son studied very hard. He worked after school to support himself. Now he is a Professor in Harvard. My three girls also had a nice education. Two are bookkeepers and one is a school teacher. They are all married. One to a druggist, and one to a doctor, and one to a high school teacher. The youngest boy is still in college. I am very happy that my husband and I struggled. We got what we wanted. We have five grandchildren and a nice educated family. I am 52 years old. I was not ashamed to go to school in my late age. Before I began to go to school I did not know how to read or write. Now I am glad that I have gone to school and learned how to read and write.

"I think that the classes conducted by the Board of Education have done a great deal of good to many women who have attended them."



*11. Astrology and numerology*

Many adults, frequently of superior native endowment but uncertain early education, apply themselves with great zeal to studies that are aside from the main path of modern scientific interest or seek to enroll in advanced scientific courses for which they lack adequate preparation.

"My school days were slight, as my parents migrated to Florida when I was a baby. This occurred in the middle eighties when the lower half of Florida was nothing but wild land and Indians. We lived in the middle of this state along with half a dozen other white families.

"But Florida laws required seven children to make up a school, and there were only five of us.

"The few times we had a school (and usually taught by a grammar school girl) were days of torture as we were children of the free. Books were a profound mystery, but our daily life spent in the great outdoors was by far more mysterious and ten times more interesting.

"Thus our childish minds reasoned, and with a great deal of truth back of these thoughts, for Florida was interesting in her pioneer days of wild life.

"The only things I remember learning in my school days was the life of Evangeline and the northern lights, aurora borealis. And how symbolic my life has been of those two teachings.

"For it has been a life of searching, searching for the lights and truth of life and all its mysteries.

"I am happy to say, that in my early forties, despite all school handicaps, and a life of intense suffering, I have succeeded beyond all my childhood expectations.

"My girlhood associates, while not many, were exceptionally intelligent and well educated. My one burning desire of those days was to own an education equally as good, if not better, than my associates. And therein lies the basis of all life.

"Get yourself a burning desire of anything on this earth or heavens above and just as sure as the sun rises and sets, your desire will be fulfilled.

"That is the reason why this poor old earth is in such a chaotic condition.

"The concentrated forces of burning desires of every description from millions of people thrown out into the cosmos

naturally create the conditions that we have to abide with to-day.

"And why is this?

"It is caused by the lack of educational burning desires of the low masses to master the fundamental, universal, and cosmic laws of the universe.

"It is too much like work to the average person to master the principles and laws of Metaphysics, Psychology, Numerology, Biology, Astrology, the super-sciences like Einstein's Theory of Relativity, and the Occult laws.

"It is work! But the mastery of these laws and principles spells the difference between a happy life of success and a life of bitterness and failure.

"I know! For without much schooling, and a body constantly wracked with torturing pain, I have managed to climb the ladder of education through every means available."

### *12. A physician's wife goes to college*

"A short time before the War, at the beginning of my senior year in college, I became ill with diphtheria. This necessitated an extended absence from class. I was engaged to a physician who was just starting his practice in Brooklyn and had to make his domestic arrangements definite. For this reason we decided it would be better to set ahead the date of our marriage which was to have been after my graduation, and forego my final year at Hunter College. Then came the War and we both served for a year and a half.

"After our return two children were born, a boy and a girl. While they were very young I put away the thought of earning those 35 credits required for completing the number needed for my B.A. degree. Now the girl is five and the boy eight. Last year I matriculated at the evening session of Hunter College and will graduate next June. At the Brooklyn Branch, I attend four evenings a week, from Monday to Thursday. The children are fed at 5:30 and tucked into bed soon after. I leave about 6:30 p.m. to be present at a 7 o'clock class and the second one finishes about half past nine, bringing me home not later than ten o'clock. My husband is busy with evening office appointments and we are free to have Friday, Saturday and Sunday for any social arrangements.

"The continuation of education requires effort, to be sure, but the compensation is immeasurable. In studying advanced Psychology, English Literature and Music the inspiration of enthusiastic teachers and interested students with the interchange of thoughts and ideas is renewed life. One is lifted out of the groove into which a wife and mother finds herself settling in the general routine of managing a home. The stimulation that comes from a new line of mental endeavor can be appreciated in only one way—try it!"

## CHAPTER II

### FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION VIEWED IN MASS

When adults, after turning out a day's work, voluntarily attend evening classes, perform laboratory experiments, or follow systematic courses of study at home, what motives impel them? What sorts of courses do they select? Are these workers-and-students mostly persons who had little opportunity for study in their youth, or are the educationally privileged apt to seek further education? Do the situations and habits of those who have studied as adults give any objective evidence of vocational or cultural benefits? An attempt will be made in this chapter to answer such questions, on the basis of an analysis of data collected on the main question-form used in the Brooklyn study. The reader will bear in mind that answers must be based upon the analysis of data collected from relatively small samples of the total population and that the findings here presented should be regarded as provisional rather than as conclusive.

#### HOW MANY ADULTS GO TO SCHOOL?

About one-fourth of the persons from whom information was obtained on the main question-form were selected at random in factories or stores or met in house-to-house interviews under circumstances which make the replies free from bias as regards the presence or absence of interest in adult education. This random sample is believed



to be roughly representative of the population at large. Another, somewhat larger group of returns was secured through social organizations or from business firms where coöperation was optional. In such cases it is assumed that persons especially interested in education would be more likely to reply. There is no apparent reason why these returns should be biased in favor of any particular *kind* of adult education. Other answers were secured from representatives of various student bodies, as such. The entire collection may be regarded as something of a cross between a random sample of the general population and a scattering of persons who are especially interested in various kinds of adult study. A detailed discussion of methods and of the reliability of the sampling is given in the Appendix.

Ignoring all returns except those included in the "random sample," comprising 1,166 persons (744 men, 422 women), it appears, if the sample can be accepted as representative, that about 40 per cent of the adult population of Brooklyn have at some time taken some sort of part-time courses. This figure is secured by allowing for overlapping, as reported, between three major kinds of courses: regular academic courses at night, English classes for foreign-born, and special part-time courses (vocational, cultural, etc.), for which the percentages run 9, 8, and 27 per cent respectively. In an entirely different set of data, collected from 1,267 parents or other adult relatives of public school children in six scattered districts in Brooklyn, the percentages are strikingly similar. In this case 41 per cent report some sort of part-time course since leaving day school, distributed among the categories listed above as 10, 10, and 26 per cent respectively. On the basis of these figures, even allowing for an element of unrecognized bias in spite of all precautions,

it seems probable that between 25 and 40 per cent of the adult population of Brooklyn have taken some sort of courses since entering paid occupations or taking up domestic duties. In other words, the total number of persons now living in Brooklyn who have been touched by adult education, so called, must be in the vicinity of 500,000.<sup>1</sup>

One type of part-time study is fairly identical in character with the programs carried on in the full time classes, namely, evening sessions for the completion of regular high school or college courses for academic credits. Here the work of the evening classes is standardized by the norms established in the day sessions. The motives which prompt students to pursue such courses are like those of the day students, except that it takes more drive to carry on at night, and attendance at such classes is obviously never a substitute for responsible labor or an acquiescence in parental fancies—young people are not “sent” to night school; they “go.” The benefits received from such regular academic courses pursued at night are analogous to those received from day courses, except as regards the extra-curricular and social features of day high schools and colleges. In the “random sample” of 1,166 (744 men, 422 women), *10 per cent* of the men and *8 per cent* of the women have taken part of their regular elementary, high school or college work in evening sessions,—about one-fourth of all who reported any adult studies. In the case of each sex, the percentage of those who have taken two years or more of such night school work for elementary or academic credits is exactly equal to the percentage of those who have carried such programs for a shorter period.

<sup>1</sup> Five hundred thousand or 30 per cent of the total population exclusive of 33 per cent (or thereabouts) of preschool age or now enrolled in full time schools.

Nearly a fourth of the persons included in this random sample had not learned English as children.<sup>2</sup> Thirty-three per cent of these immigrants from non-English speaking countries, or 8 per cent of the whole sample, have attended classes in English in this country. But percentages both of foreign-born persons in our sample and of English students among the foreign-born are lower for women than for men. Twenty-seven per cent of the men in the sample had some other language than English as their native tongue, and 37 per cent of these have attended English classes. Eighteen per cent of the women in the sample were originally non-English-speaking, and 24 per cent of these have attended English classes.

Slightly more than *one-fourth* of all persons represented in the random sample of schedules, collected under conditions designed to eliminate any bias as regards education, had taken some sort of "adult courses" *exclusive* of the types described in the two preceding paragraphs. In this case the percentages for men (27%) and for women (28%) are nearly identical.<sup>3</sup>

The distribution as regards type of school attended, among persons who reported adult courses on the brief questionnaires circulated through public schools, runs as follows: public schools (including high schools), 57 per cent; colleges and universities, 23 per cent; correspondence schools, 16 per cent; other schools, 38 per cent. These percentages total more than 100 because many persons attended more than one kind of school. In addi-

<sup>2</sup> This is nearly identical with the figure for the population at large. Foreign-born residents, including those from English-speaking countries, constituted 32 per cent of the population of Brooklyn in 1920.

<sup>3</sup> An adult course, as used in this account, is defined as a systematic course of study followed after leaving regular day school, i.e., after taking up responsibilities in paid occupation or homemaking, or in a few cases after retiring to the enjoyment of leisure. The use of the term is restricted to part-time courses (20 hours per week as the maximum) or full time courses of less than 15 weeks duration.



tion to these scholastic courses, 5 per cent (not included in the 41 per cent reported above) of the total sample reported membership in some sort of educational club or discussion group.

As regards the major types, the part-time courses reported by parents of public school children are distributed as follows: definitely vocational courses, 50 per cent; English for foreign-born, 18 per cent; academic courses for credit, 18 per cent; miscellaneous and non-credit courses of all kinds, 14 per cent.

The courses described on the main Conference questionnaire, limiting the figures to courses reported by persons represented in the "random sample," may be analyzed as follows:

TABLE I

ADULT COURSES, EXCLUSIVE OF REGULAR ACADEMIC COURSES FOR CREDIT AND CLASSES IN ENGLISH FOR THE FOREIGN-BORN, REPORTED BY 744 MEN AND 422 WOMEN INCLUDED IN THE RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE BROOKLYN CONFERENCE \*

| TYPE OF COURSE                             | NUMBER OF MEN | NUMBER OF WOMEN | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| Clerical .....                             | 25            | 54              | 79    |
| Accounting .....                           | 8             | 1               | 9     |
| Business .....                             | 30            | 10              | 40    |
| Trade .....                                | 24            | 9               | 33    |
| Technical .....                            | 34            | 0               | 34    |
| Professional .....                         | 18            | 3               | 21    |
| Art .....                                  | 11            | 14              | 25    |
| Music .....                                | 5             | 5               | 10    |
| Foreign languages .....                    | 5             | 3               | 8     |
| English composition, public speaking, etc. | 5             | 5               | 10    |
| Creative writing .....                     | 0             | 3               | 3     |
| Literature, art appreciation, etc. ....    | 1             | 3               | 4     |
| Child study .....                          | 0             | 2               | 2     |
| Domestic arts and science .....            | 0             | 11              | 11    |
| Science (except technical courses) .....   | 1             | 1               | 2     |
| Social sciences .....                      | 2             | 4               | 6     |
| Miscellaneous and general .....            | 32            | 23              | 55    |
| Total .....                                | 201           | 151             | 352   |

\* Three hundred and twenty persons out of the total 1,166 reported such courses. Altogether they described 352 different courses, or groups of similar courses.



## RELATION OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING TO INTEREST IN ADULT EDUCATION

There is a common idea that adult study is largely the concern of persons who have been handicapped in opportunities for juvenile education. It is therefore a matter of considerable interest to see how previous scholastic attainments affect the quantity of part-time courses taken by adults. A larger sample may be used for this comparison, because we are no longer attempting to measure the amount of interest in adult education in the population at large.

TABLE II

EXTENT OF ADULT STUDY IN REFERENCE TO LEVELS OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING \*

| NUMBER OF PERSONS | LEVEL OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING             | PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS HAVING TAKEN ADULT COURSES AMOUNTING TO |            |              |               |                   |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|                   |                                         | None                                                           | 1-49 Hours | 50-199 Hours | 200-599 Hours | 600 or More Hours | Hours Not Stated † |
| 935               | Elementary school only                  | 77                                                             | 3          | 5            | 5             | 1                 | 9                  |
| 528               | Elementary plus some high or vocational | 55                                                             | 6          | 10           | 11            | 6                 | 12                 |
| 587               | High school graduate                    | 45                                                             | 5          | 12           | 13            | 10                | 15                 |
| 276               | College graduate ....                   | 36                                                             | 3          | 13           | 11            | 14                | 23                 |
| 2,326             | All .....                               | 59                                                             | 4          | 9            | 9             | 6                 | 13                 |

\* Based on total sample except returns derived from adult student groups, selected as such, but exclusive of courses for regular elementary or academic credits and courses in English for the foreign-born.

† Only persons definitely reporting courses, although not stating number of hours, are included here. The increasing percentage in this column may be explained by the greater difficulty of recalling such data where adult study has been extensive.

From the foregoing table it appears not only that the percentage of those taking adult courses rises sharply with the grade attained in previous schooling, but that the extent of adult courses, measured in hours, also rises.

Courses for regular elementary and academic credits, however, and courses in English for immigrants are not included in this analysis. The idea that adult education is primarily a compensatory device for the use of persons who failed to get much education in their youth must be discarded. Adult courses are more apt to be taken by persons who have had enough education before leaving school to appreciate the value of keeping on with their studies.

The idea that adult students are commonly unsociable fellows who compensate for the lack of society by devotion to education also appears to be fallacious if membership in clubs is used as the criterion of sociability. Using all the questionnaires received, including returns collected through adult student bodies, it was found that 3,146 persons gave a negative reply or failed to answer the question, "Are you a member of any club or lodge?" whereas 1,493 persons answered in the affirmative. Only 48 per cent of the first group, not members of any club, have ever taken adult courses, but 57 per cent of those who report club membership have done so. Moreover, although only 15 per cent of the non-members have taken as much as 200 hours of adult study, 25 per cent of the club members have indulged in adult courses to this extent.

On the other hand, it is true that among 1,440 persons 31 years of age or over, including representatives of adult student bodies, whose records have been analyzed in this connection, 58 per cent of the unmarried persons had taken adult courses, whereas only 39 per cent of those who are married but childless had ever done so, and among parents the percentages of those having taken adult courses run as follows: 43 per cent of those having one or two children, 27 per cent of those having three,

four or five children, and only 13 per cent of those who have six or more children have ever allowed themselves the luxury of systematic adult study. These figures should, however, be received with caution, because of the possibility of statistical bias due to differences in the age distribution of the two classes here compared.

#### MOTIVES FOR ADULT STUDY

Motives for adult study are commonly less idealistic than some educators would like to believe. Poets are eager for an increase of beauty, and social scientists are interested in the intelligent social control of public affairs. And many men and women in all walks of life share these hungers. But, by all odds, the largest percentage of those in Brooklyn who pursue systematic courses of study, after their school days are over, are motivated by a sense of economic or social insecurity and a concern to advance themselves vocationally or in social status. Of course, sincere intellectual curiosity, a desire to improve the quality of living, and a sense of responsibility as parents or citizens are genuine motives with many individuals. However, the social theorist may well answer that in a highly competitive and precarious economic order a primary concern with physical and social insecurity is inevitable and proper. And he may also point out that economic prosperity is, as Aristotle recognized, a basic factor in spiritual well-being. And in process of preparing for increased economic production, and beyond this basic drive, new artistic and social interests may develop.

An analysis of the statement of aims of those having taken part-time courses (exclusive of general academic courses), reported on the Conference question-form,

using the whole sample, is given in the following table.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE III  
REASONS FOR TAKING ADULT COURSES

| MOST IMPORTANT AIM OR MOTIVE<br>(List suggested on questionnaire)                                          | MEN                        |                                            | WOMEN                      |                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                            | No. of<br>Times<br>Checked | Percentage<br>of Total<br>Aims<br>Recorded | No. of<br>Times<br>Checked | Percentage<br>of Total<br>Aims<br>Recorded |
| 1. To fit for new occupation,<br>which you later <i>entered</i> , or<br>still <i>expect to enter</i> ..... | 384                        | 27                                         | 190                        | 23                                         |
| 2. To fit for new occupation,<br>which you <i>never</i> entered ..                                         | 134                        | 9                                          | 68                         | 9                                          |
| 3. To increase efficiency in work<br>in which you were <i>already</i><br>engaged .....                     | 425                        | 30                                         | 141                        | 18                                         |
| 4. For school or college credits                                                                           | 145                        | 10                                         | 58                         | 7                                          |
| 5. For "general education," "cul-<br>ture," or "intellectual stimu-<br>lation" .....                       | 198                        | 14                                         | 197                        | 24                                         |
| 6. To meet special needs, for<br>self or others, outside of paid<br>occupation .....                       | 27                         | 2                                          | 58                         | 7                                          |
| 7. Interest in some special sub-<br>ject or hobby .....                                                    | 63                         | 7                                          | 80                         | 10                                         |
| 8. Influence or demand of em-<br>ployer, family or friends ...                                             | 12                         | 1                                          | 3                          | 0                                          |
| 9. Desire for social contacts, or<br>other school privileges .....                                         | 3                          | 0                                          | 7                          | 1                                          |
| 10. Other reason .....                                                                                     | 7                          | 0                                          | 8                          | 1                                          |
| Total .....                                                                                                | 1,398                      | 100                                        | 810                        | 100                                        |

This table does not include statement of aims in the case of regular academic course pursued in evening sessions, where the aims are too complex to admit of simple analysis, or aims in the case of courses in English for immigrants where the immediate objective is obvious. Where several aims appear for the same course all of

<sup>4</sup> Where several courses of the same type are reported, aims are analyzed only for one of these courses, namely, the last recorded course.



these are taken into account. However, the directions required only "most important aim or motive."

It is reasonable to suppose that the last two motives, namely, influence of friends and desire for social contacts, frequently operate as subsidiary or unrecognized factors. Desire to improve social status was not included in the list because it was thought that questionnaire evidence on this point would be worthless. On the other hand, it frequently cropped out in the course of the interviews and in informal conversations. Many persons also indicated satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the personality of teacher and personnel of classes, and expressed a desire for a friendly, congenial atmosphere in adult classes.

Vocational aims, as might be expected, clearly predominate, 66 per cent of the aims stated by men and 50 per cent of the aims stated by women falling definitely into this category. It would, however, be a great mistake to jump to the conclusion that a majority of adult students are taking courses just for the sake of getting a new job. As a matter of fact nearly half of the men (45%) who report vocational motives for courses taken since leaving day school did so with the aim of increasing their efficiency in work in which they were already engaged.

Interest in "general education," "culture" or "intellectual stimulation," however, is by no means a negligible factor, since it receives 14 per cent of all listings by men and 24 per cent by women. Practical non-vocational interests and hobbies also bulk much larger among women's interests. Altogether "intellectual stimulation," "special needs outside of paid occupations," and "hobbies" motivate 23 per cent of the lines of adult study followed by men, and 41 per cent in the case of women.

Analysis of motives in adult education is worthy of

more specific and intensive investigation than it has yet received. It can be successfully carried out only through systematic case studies. In educational practice it is especially important to recognize that motives are not fixed but are undergoing constant change, diversification and synthesis. The genesis of new interests is a vital part of all genuine education. The development of new, more inclusive, and more socially-minded motives through the liberal cultivation of initially limited objectives is the essence of good pedagogy. Interest in ability to read and write the English language correctly, and interest in vocational advancement, are among the most obvious and important of common limited objectives. Interests focused around the development of community institutions, parental responsibilities, good dress, and so forth are further instances of objectives which are capable of unlimited development.

#### RESULTS OF ADULT STUDY

The attempt to measure objectively the *results* of courses of study in individual lives is a very interesting problem and one which was prominent in the initial purpose of the present study. An attempt was made, accordingly, to determine what differences, if any, are characteristic of persons who have taken courses as adults in comparison with others of equivalent juvenile education who have not taken any formal courses since leaving day school—both as regards occupation and as regards leisure-time interests. It is assumed that such differences, if existing, would be significant either of the specific results of adult study or of the type of persons who pursue such studies. The data secured are rough, but are at least of suggestive value.

Vocationally, the most conclusive results could probably be obtained through a study of the records of a large number of employees, under fairly comparable conditions, and where changes in assignments and pay are immediately and accurately available. It was judged impossible under the conditions of the Conference study to attempt to collect information regarding salary changes. All persons interviewed were asked to report *occupation*. These are classified into ten occupational groups, including homemakers as one group. Three questions were asked regarding *employment and pay*, namely, whether the persons were working at the time of the interview, whether they were receiving more pay than in the last previous position (in case they had been engaged in more than one situation), and whether they were then earning more than when they first came to this position. In all cases where it was apparent that the person had been engaged less than two years in his present position the last question was treated as irrelevant, but in many cases no evidence was obtained as to the length of employment. Three questions were asked regarding *attitude toward work*, namely, whether the persons found their work "interesting," "fairly so," or "uninteresting" (scored 2, 1, and 0 respectively), whether they felt themselves "independent" in their work, or "to a limited degree," or "not encouraged much to use own judgment" (scored 2, 1, and 0), and whether they felt there was "a good future" in their present work, "fair or uncertain," or "little or no future" (scored 2, 1, and 0). The scores were combined into a total "attitude toward work" score, ranging from 0 to 6. In order to make the comparison at all significant the amount of previous education must be taken into consideration. In order to eliminate the complications of domestic responsibilities in the case of the



women and, so far as practical, the factor of immaturity, the analysis is limited to men between the ages of 25 and 59.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATION AND VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT IN RELATION TO ADULT VOCATIONAL COURSES, IN THE CASE OF ALL MEN AGED 25-59 IN TOTAL SAMPLE, IN TWO LEVELS OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING

|                                                                                                                                              | PERSONS HAVING ONLY<br>ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING |             |                                  |             | HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES<br>(not college graduates) |             |                                  |             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
|                                                                                                                                              | No Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses           |             | Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses * |             | No Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses                |             | Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses * |             |
|                                                                                                                                              | Num-<br>ber                                 | Per<br>cent | Num-<br>ber                      | Per<br>cent | Num-<br>ber                                      | Per<br>cent | Num-<br>ber                      | Per<br>cent |
| All workers .....                                                                                                                            | 337                                         | 100         | 95                               | 100         | 52                                               | 100         | 66                               | 100         |
| Unskilled workers .....                                                                                                                      | 57                                          | 17          | 1                                | 1           | 2                                                | 4           | 0                                | 0           |
| Small shopkeepers .....                                                                                                                      | 40                                          | 12          | 0                                | 0           | 1                                                | 2           | 2                                | 3           |
| Semi-skilled workers .....                                                                                                                   | 130                                         | 38          | 18                               | 19          | 4                                                | 8           | 1                                | 1           |
| Skilled workers .....                                                                                                                        | 56                                          | 17          | 38                               | 40          | 9                                                | 17          | 12                               | 18          |
| Clerical workers .....                                                                                                                       | 34                                          | 10          | 12                               | 13          | 12                                               | 23          | 16                               | 24          |
| Foreman and supervisors ..                                                                                                                   | 6                                           | 2           | 15                               | 16          | 2                                                | 4           | 7                                | 11          |
| Business administrators ...                                                                                                                  | 11                                          | 3           | 8                                | 8           | 11                                               | 21          | 13                               | 20          |
| Professional workers .....                                                                                                                   | 1                                           | 0           | 2                                | 2           | 10                                               | 19          | 13                               | 20          |
| Miscellaneous, retired, etc..                                                                                                                | 2                                           | 1           | 1                                | 1           | 1                                                | 2           | 2                                | 3           |
| All workers, of all conditions<br>as regards work and pay                                                                                    | 337                                         | 100         | 95                               | 100         | 52                                               | 100         | 66                               | 100         |
| Out of work .....                                                                                                                            | 37                                          | 11          | 7                                | 7           | 5                                                | 10          | 1                                | 1           |
| No pay rise .....                                                                                                                            | 66                                          | 20          | 8                                | 8           | 6                                                | 12          | 8                                | 12          |
| No answer regarding pay,<br>or question irrelevant **                                                                                        | 39                                          | 11          | 12                               | 13          | 10                                               | 19          | 3                                | 5           |
| Pay rise either in this posi-<br>tion or in last change ...                                                                                  | 67                                          | 20          | 11                               | 12          | 8                                                | 15          | 8                                | 12          |
| Pay rise both in this posi-<br>tion and in last change ..                                                                                    | 128                                         | 38          | 57                               | 60          | 23                                               | 44          | 46                               | 70          |
| Average score, all workers,<br>as regards attitude toward<br>work (sense of independ-<br>ence, enjoyment of work,<br>and "good future") .... | 3.5                                         |             | 4.2                              |             | 4.2                                              |             | 4.5                              |             |

\* Includes only trade, technical and commercial courses, taken since leaving day school.

\*\* Including all cases where evidence indicates present position to be the first or employment in present position less than two years.



Unfortunately, the sample for high school graduates turns out to be rather small. On this level the occupational differences between adult students and those who have not taken any vocational courses since leaving day school are insignificant. In all other respects, however, the vocational value of vocational courses seems to be clearly indicated, in regularity of employment, pay increases, and attitude toward work. The differences, however, are more striking in the case of those who have had only elementary schooling. This may possibly be due simply to the fact that the sample in this case is more adequate for purposes of comparison, but perhaps also because attention to evening study gives a greater relative advantage on this level or is more indicative of usual ambition and ability.

Equally interesting, perhaps even more interesting, results are obtained by a comparison of leisure-time habits between those who have and those who have not taken courses since leaving regular day school. In this table differences in age and sex will be ignored, but a distinction will be made between vocational and cultural types of study. In the case of college graduates, however, evening vocational courses will not be included because the distinction between regular and adult courses on this level becomes meaningless.

It is highly significant that vocational courses, taken since leaving day school, have a marked relationship to superior newspaper, magazine, and library habits both on the elementary and in the high school levels, but that they seem to have no relationship at all to theater habits and artistic interests. The persons reporting adult vocational courses are apparently more alert intellectually but show no distinctive development along general cultural and artistic lines. On the other hand, the marked

TABLE V

CERTAIN LEISURE-TIME HABITS IN RELATION TO ADULT VOCATIONAL COURSES (COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL) AND ADULT CULTURAL COURSES (LINGUISTIC, SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY, ETC.) IN THE CASE OF ALL PERSONS IN TOTAL SAMPLE, IN THREE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

| LEISURE-TIME HABIT                                 | PERSONS HAVING ONLY<br>ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING |                                                    |                                                 | HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES                   |                                                    |                                                  | COLLEGE GRADUATES                       |                                                 |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
|                                                    | No Adult<br>Courses<br>(1,152<br>persons)   | Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses<br>(258<br>persons) | Adult<br>Cultural<br>Courses<br>(42<br>persons) | No Adult<br>Courses<br>(477<br>persons) | Adult<br>Vocational<br>Courses<br>(325<br>persons) | Adult<br>Cultural<br>Courses<br>(258<br>persons) | No Adult<br>Courses<br>(117<br>persons) | Adult<br>Cultural<br>Courses<br>(67<br>persons) |
|                                                    | Percentages                                 |                                                    |                                                 | Percentages                             |                                                    |                                                  | Percentages                             |                                                 |
| Use of free libraries                              |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |                                         |                                                    |                                                  |                                         |                                                 |
| None .....                                         | 72                                          | 35                                                 | 38                                              | 15                                      | 11                                                 | 10                                               | 13                                      | 4                                               |
| Occasionally .....                                 | 21                                          | 39                                                 | 33                                              | 32                                      | 37                                                 | 33                                               | 33                                      | 20                                              |
| Frequently .....                                   | 7                                           | 26                                                 | 29                                              | 53                                      | 52                                                 | 57                                               | 54                                      | 76                                              |
| Reading of magazines                               |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |                                         |                                                    |                                                  |                                         |                                                 |
| None .....                                         | 56                                          | 35                                                 | 24                                              | 26                                      | 19                                                 | 20                                               | 15                                      | 19                                              |
| Light or miscellaneous .....                       | 37                                          | 35                                                 | 43                                              | 21                                      | 26                                                 | 23                                               | 17                                      | 6                                               |
| Serious .....                                      | 7                                           | 30                                                 | 33                                              | 53                                      | 55                                                 | 57                                               | 68                                      | 75                                              |
| Reading of newspapers *                            |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |                                         |                                                    |                                                  |                                         |                                                 |
| Tablets only .....                                 | 15                                          | 6                                                  | 2                                               | 1                                       | 1                                                  | 1                                                | 0                                       | 0                                               |
| N. Y. American, Evening Journal                    | 19                                          | 26                                                 | 31                                              | 10                                      | 11                                                 | 6                                                | 2                                       | 1                                               |
| Herald, Post, Sun, Telegram,<br>Times, World ..... | 18                                          | 43                                                 | 55                                              | 69                                      | 74                                                 | 73                                               | 81                                      | 79                                              |
| Theater attendance                                 |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |                                         |                                                    |                                                  |                                         |                                                 |
| Motion pictures only .....                         | 21                                          | 19                                                 | 17                                              | 12                                      | 14                                                 | 8                                                | 8                                       | 6                                               |
| Vaudeville and musical shows..                     | 37                                          | 31                                                 | 12                                              | 18                                      | 24                                                 | 13                                               | 10                                      | 4                                               |
| Drama .....                                        | 25                                          | 25                                                 | 59                                              | 55                                      | 37                                                 | 67                                               | 64                                      | 69                                              |
| Concerts .....                                     | 22                                          | 24                                                 | 50                                              | 44                                      | 41                                                 | 56                                               | 59                                      | 58                                              |
| Artistic activities                                |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |                                         |                                                    |                                                  |                                         |                                                 |
| Dramatics .....                                    | 4                                           | 6                                                  | 12                                              | 11                                      | 10                                                 | 11                                               | 5                                       | 9                                               |
| Music .....                                        | 16                                          | 20                                                 | 38                                              | 35                                      | 33                                                 | 41                                               | 21                                      | 24                                              |
| Art .....                                          | 3                                           | 4                                                  | 21                                              | 14                                      | 10                                                 | 27                                               | 21                                      | 33                                              |

\* Other papers are omitted from this analysis. Percentages in this and following items do not total 100 %.

superiority of interests, in all educational levels, of persons who have taken so-called cultural courses is quite conspicuous.

Viewed in the mass, adult education appears to be already a momentous affair, fraught with actual and potential human values. Apparently adult education is already playing a considerable rôle in the making of adult minds in this metropolitan area. Outstanding merits and flaws in present educational work with those who have left school will appear in the examination of various specific problems and issues in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER III

### EDUCATION IN RELATION TO COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

#### EDUCATION FOR COMMERCE

Somewhat paradoxically, "the industrial age" is characterized by a diversion of workers from industry to commerce, clerkship, technology and the professions.<sup>1</sup> Not only have the skilled crafts declined, but the percentage of persons actually employed with tools, machines and materials has decreased, whereas the percentage of those who deal with persons, systems and symbols has increased. Modern economic organization demands expert management, accounting and exploitation by a large number of specialized workers. Facility in the management of persons and skill in the manipulation of words and figures are at a premium. Moreover, a fair degree of what commonly passes for "education," namely, literacy, sophistication and a modicum of miscellaneous information, is also required for many types of employment that are not commonly classified as commercial. Corporations are extremely sensitive to the personal relations involved in the multitude of contacts between their vast employee forces and the outside public, recognizing that service station men, repair men, adjustment clerks and telephone

<sup>1</sup> The proportion of gainfully employed persons engaged in trade, clerical work and the professions has been increasing for several decades and very rapidly of late. Recently even the proportion of all employees attached in any way to manufacturing industries has also decreased. Cf. *Recent Economic Changes*, National Industrial Conference Board, Volume II, 1929.



operators as well as company officers are constantly creating good will or ill will. Delivery men who carry products from warehouses to neighborhood shops are often, in varying degrees, also salesmen and collectors. Finally, all of us in our private affairs must traffic with checks, contracts and vouchers, not to mention the manipulation of two time systems during the summer months. It is therefore not surprising to find a great interest both on the part of individuals and on the part of corporations in "contact courses," English composition, public speaking, arithmetic, and everyday law, as well as in more specific vocational commercial courses such as stenography, comptometry, and accounting.

Courses in specific commercial techniques are being taken more and more in private schools. The Superintendent of Schools reports that the number registered for academic diplomas in evening high schools in New York City has increased from 17,820 in 1924 to 27,392 in 1929, but that the number registered for commercial diplomas in these evening schools has actually decreased from 10,215 to 2,006 during the same period, and the number studying special vocational subjects, from 3,455 to 2,176. Evidently a larger percentage of those taking commercial subjects are seeking short, intensive training and finding desirable courses on a satisfactory basis outside of the public schools. This trend is reflected in an analysis of types of schools where adult commercial courses<sup>2</sup> had been taken, as reported on 400 of the questionnaires received from clerical workers. In the case of the 200 men, only 12 had taken these courses at public schools (elementary or high) and 11 at colleges or universities, whereas 43 had enrolled for such courses at

<sup>2</sup>The term "adult courses" is used to cover all part-time courses taken by employed persons or homemakers, and special full time courses of less than 15 weeks duration.

private commercial schools or institutes. Of the 200 women, 10 had utilized the public schools for adult commercial courses; 9, colleges or universities; and 44, private commercial schools or institutes. Ten of the 20 persons having taken extension courses in commercial subjects at colleges or universities and 11 of those enrolled in part-time commercial courses in private schools or institutes had already had regular college work toward a degree, while none had turned from college to evening high schools for their commercial instruction. The drift from the public schools is thus clearly evidenced, as regards vocational courses for clerical and business positions. This trend represents a natural and satisfactory development. There is no apparent reason why other urgent objectives in adult education should be sacrificed in an attempt to replace under public auspices this work which is now being handled in the main quite satisfactorily by private schools. There are doubtless important differences in the effectiveness of the teaching at the private schools, but the keen competition among them and their close connection with the business houses which hire their graduates tend to maintain their standards at a certain level of efficiency, to keep their courses flexible, and their teaching adapted to the changing needs of contemporary business practice.

From the standpoint of public policy it is very important to make a distinction between *basic courses of general usefulness in commercial and public relations* and *specific instruction in commercial and clerical techniques*. Once this distinction is recognized, most educators would probably feel that the *primary* responsibility of the public school system is for the more fundamental kind of education. The courses in private commercial schools are usually short and the immediate financial return is so

obvious that the individual is usually able and willing to pay for the instruction he wants. Even a penurious parent often finds it profitable to advance the money for his daughter to take a course in beauty culture or cosmetometry, or, if he has confidence in her ability, a full secretarial course. Public high schools which maintain broader curricular standards need not therefore be expected to take the place of private schools, although it is good for the public schools to set a standard for these vocational courses on a free basis, against which the private schools must compete for profit. The unique educational responsibilities of public and philanthropic institutions, however, lie in fields where immediate financial returns are less obvious, or in presenting the specific vocational courses in a setting of related studies having more general application.

Radical innovations, however, are possible in the field of general-and-commercial education for adults—outside of provisions for specific vocational courses and college preparatory courses. There is a comparatively small registration in courses in “the common branches” offered by the Board of Education in its “evening elementary schools.” These labels do not in themselves suggest attractive courses designed to meet the needs of ambitious adults. According to the last available report there was a total of 245,000 individuals in all Greater New York enrolled in such courses. And we have already observed that the number taking commercial subjects in evening high schools is small because the present programs are primarily adapted to those who want the full high school course standardized in accordance with the needs of inexperienced young people. The Conference staff, in conducting interviews in Brooklyn, found many persons who would be very happy to avail themselves of any



opportunities to study general academic and commercial subjects in courses less advanced than university sessions, if such courses were made available to them under conditions that were not formidable or embarrassing. It may also be questioned whether many of those who are now pursuing academic credits five nights a week might not more profitably devote their energies to studies on a more mature level and more closely related to their actual needs and interests.

Out of 1,166 questionnaires (744 men, 422 women) in the random sample, regarded as roughly representative of the general populace and free from any serious bias as regards interest in adult education, 39 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women mentioned some course which they felt they would like to take. Only first preferences were recorded.

|                                               | DESIGNATED BY: |     |       |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|-----|-------|
|                                               | Total          | Men | Women |
| Clerical .....                                | 65             | 14  | 51    |
| Trade courses .....                           | 55             | 46  | 9     |
| English (classes for immigrants) .....        | 55             | 31  | 24    |
| Technical or industrial management ....       | 48             | 47  | 1     |
| Business administration .....                 | 32             | 28  | 4     |
| English (not classes for immigrants) ....     | 24             | 9   | 15    |
| General high school subjects .....            | 18             | 15  | 3     |
| Foreign languages .....                       | 18             | 7   | 11    |
| Domestic arts .....                           | 18             | ..  | 18    |
| Accounting .....                              | 17             | 14  | 3     |
| Social science, including psychology .....    | 16             | 7   | 9     |
| General elementary subjects .....             | 15             | 15  | 0     |
| Literature, art appreciation, philosophy ..   | 14             | 6   | 8     |
| Music .....                                   | 13             | 8   | 5     |
| Art, general and commercial .....             | 13             | 7   | 6     |
| Interior decorating, clothing design, etc. .. | 9              | ..  | 9     |
| Law .....                                     | 9              | 8   | 1     |
| Child study .....                             | 8              | ..  | 8     |
| Public speaking, parliamentary law .....      | 5              | ..  | 5     |
| Other courses .....                           | 50             | 28  | 22    |
|                                               | 502            | 290 | 212   |



It is, of course, one thing to describe courses which one would like to take "if possible," and another thing to enroll in courses and to follow them regularly, however advantageous the opportunities may be. The courses above frequently mentioned correspond, as might be expected, in high degree to courses now available, except that the percentage of preferences for regular high school academic courses for credit is relatively small among the employed men and women and the homemakers interviewed by the Conference. Nevertheless, there is clearly a large potential demand for general academic, commercial, technical and industrial courses if made available for adults at low cost and freed from traditional academic restrictions.

One way to meet such demands might be the provision under public auspices of popular *educational centers for adults*. Previous educational attainments would need to be considered in accepting registration for particular courses, but the work as a whole might be pitched on a popular level and open to all. Obviously the whole set-up of such centers would need to be liberated from the traditions of grade school or high school work with youngsters before they could prove popular with adults. Specific clerical and business training courses might still be left largely to special commercial schools, but otherwise there seems to be no reason to draw an artificial line between vocational and non-vocational courses. Courses of the type discussed in the immediately preceding paragraphs have, for the most part, both commercial or technical, and cultural value. The establishment of extensive contact between adults and educational opportunities would lead to further intellectual adventures, if the more limited courses were offered as a part of a whole educational program.

The general drive for vocational advancement, which is at present the most powerful educational incentive in American life, should be met with liberal programs designed to stimulate new educational interests. Opportunities for further study might be provided as new interests are developed.

There is already extensive provision for the study of such subjects as economics, accounting, salesmanship and business management in evening sessions in colleges, universities, business institutes, and in the schools conducted by such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., and the Knights of Columbus. In these fields there is considerable elasticity, with a wide range of individual courses of general academic and commercial value, as well as more specific courses in various commercial fields. Each year a larger number of students are enrolled in college, university and institute evening sessions. The principal problem in this field from the educational standpoint is the importance and difficulty of securing teachers who are masters of their particular commercial subjects and at the same time have sufficient background, breadth and social imagination to conduct the courses on a high educational level. The problem when comprehended becomes largely administrative, dependent in part on quality of the administrative staff and in part on the degree of public or philanthropic subsidy. Where educational programs are expected to be self-supporting the objectives which can be practically realized necessarily become limited in scope or traditional in character.

Organizations enjoying philanthropic support such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. and conducting adult education programs along popular vocational lines have an opportunity at this point to make an important con-

tribution to the philosophy and practice of adult education in America. In the case of both of these organizations experimentation into new areas is hampered by a lack of subsidies for that purpose and the consequent necessity of producing income at least to cover direct costs. The same applies to evening sessions of colleges and universities which in many cases are expected to be self-supporting or even to carry part of the burden of the smaller classes with more highly paid instructors provided for full time day students. There is need for more generous subsidies for educational work for adults if the highest educational values are to be obtained.

In the field of private commercial relations there is need for scientific education in purchasing and consumption. At present there is very little articulate popular demand for such education simply because its possibilities are not generally recognized. More than a billion dollars are spent annually in the United States in propaganda for particular products.<sup>3</sup> Federal and state governments are spending considerable sums in educational programs for rural consumers. But as yet practically no attempt has been made to aid city dwellers in this important field of adult education except by a few independent organizations, notably Consumers' Research, Inc. As more scientific and objective information is developed regarding the service values of various types of goods, such *consumers' education* will become increasingly valuable.

<sup>3</sup> Edward W. Bok, as early as 1923, placed the figure at \$1,284,000,000 in an article in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Later estimates have usually roughly confirmed or exceeded this estimate.



## EDUCATION FOR MANUAL WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

It is axiomatic that opportunities for skilled craftsmanship have declined relatively. The industrial tasks which formerly were assigned to relatively independent workers are now divided between machines, machine-operatives, technicians and supervisors. Except in a few production fields and in certain types of repair work the all-round mechanic has largely dropped out of the picture. In view of this fact, a tendency on the part of many educators to urge the transfer of a larger proportion of students to trade courses is at least open to question.

At the present time the spontaneous choices of continuation school boys lean heavily toward the traditional so-called "skilled trades." For example, where 118 continuation school boys were found actually employed as plumbers' helpers, 547 were found who wanted to enter this field <sup>4</sup>—although newspaper want ads even in a prosperous season list plumbers much more frequently among "Positions Wanted" than in the columns announcing "Men Wanted." <sup>5</sup> Dr. David Cohen, the principal of the Brooklyn Boys' Continuation School, has recently prepared an analysis of the occupational choices of 71,000 continuation school boys, comparing ratios of preferences with ratios of employees in different industries. <sup>6</sup> The analysis runs as follows.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen: *Occupational Choices of Continuation School Boys* (not yet published).

<sup>5</sup> *Brooklyn Y. M. C. A. Survey* (unpublished).

<sup>6</sup> Cohen: *Occupational Choices of Continuation School Boys* (not yet published).



RATIO OF THOSE DESIRING TO ENTER TRADE TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ALL EMPLOYEES IN THE INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK CITY

RATIO LESS THAN 1 indicates that not enough boys and girls desire to enter these occupations.

RATIO MORE THAN 1 indicates that there are more boys and girls desirous of entering these occupations than are needed at the time.

| TRADE                               | RATIO |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Nautical pursuits .....             | .44   |
| Building trades .....               | 1.68  |
| Metal trades .....                  | 4.50  |
| Needle trades .....                 | 3.53  |
| Printing trades .....               | 4.00  |
| Manufacturing trades .....          | .41   |
| Commercial trades .....             | .80   |
| Fine arts .....                     | .50   |
| Applied arts .....                  | .66   |
| Domestic and personal service ..... | .42   |
| Profession .....                    | .45   |
| Public service .....                | .56   |
| Transportation .....                | .51   |

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that in all those fields where more boys want to enter than can be absorbed the Board of Education has provided, or is planning to provide, the encouragement of special central continuation trade schools. The central schools are only open to boys already employed in the particular trade, but in so far as they exert a guidance influence on the whole continuation school population it is apparently in the wrong direction.

What education should be provided for the large number of boys and girls of normal or slightly retarded intelligence who will find their best job opportunities as machine-operatives, packers, chauffeurs, guards, or in the less responsible positions in offices and stores? Academic subjects of the standard type prove irksome; technical courses require superior ability; and trade courses, if

emphasized, would provide a supply in excess of the industrial demand.

A possible answer might be given along the lines suggested in the discussion of education for commerce. Here again it is important to distinguish between basic courses in mechanics and shop practice and limited courses designed to train workers in the detailed performances of particular occupations. The majority of industrial jobs to-day do not require elaborate school training. In the New Jersey survey conducted by the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education the industrial demand for workers with any sort of trade course experience was found to be about 15 per cent of the total demand for workers.<sup>7</sup> Training in a particular skill affords little or no insurance, through heightened adaptability, against technological shifts. The industries themselves may be expected to provide courses to give specific training for particular jobs, or to see that such training is provided in public or private schools. The responsibility of the public strikes deeper. In the first place, as noted above, some academic and commercial education is as important vocationally for many industrial workers as are trade courses. In the second place, there is an open field for the further development of general shop and sub-technical courses which tend (1) to raise the general level of skill of the industrial worker, (2) to make him more adaptable in making shifts, and (3) to enable him to take a more intelligent interest in his work and also in various non-vocational activities. Such courses have general educational value while appealing to practical interests; and they are not subject to the liabilities which detract from the value of limited trade courses. Fundamental courses

<sup>7</sup> Address by Robert H. Spahr, American Junior College Association, 1929.

in mechanics can be adapted to different levels of intelligence and developed toward higher levels of difficulty. For example, many people who are able to operate and repair, more or less successfully, gasoline engines (such as automobiles) do so with little comprehension of the fundamental principles of the machines they operate. To teach shop practice, elementary mechanics and elementary electricity, along with general academic subjects, opens up a more fundamental educational process than to teach plastering or the operation of a loom, and in the end may be of greater economic as well as superior cultural value. The recognition of the possible educational values of craft courses also applies to basic home crafts, such as cooking, sewing, decoration, home nursing and child nurture.

It has sometimes been suggested by competent educational authorities that the highest educational values in dealing with the class of workers under discussion may be achieved through the development of leisure-time crafts on a purely non-vocational basis.<sup>8</sup> But here, as in the basic academic and commercial subjects, it seems wholly gratuitous to attempt to draw an absolute line between vocational and avocational objectives. Craft courses and technical courses, fortunately, are frequently taken with mixed motives, and their final values may be different from the original objectives. In any case, human happiness is, in a high degree, directly dependent upon work. Fortunately, most people still find themselves interested in their work, but the interest increases according to the skill of the worker. In the sample questionnaires selected at random for analysis on this question 47 per cent of

<sup>8</sup> In the field of juvenile education, see Helen Woolley: *An Experimental Study in Education*. In the field of adult education, compare the Men's Institutes organized under municipal auspices in London.



100 semi-skilled men, 70 per cent of 100 skilled men, 86 per cent of 35 foremen or production supervisors, said that they found their work really "interesting." Among the women, 54 out of 100 industrial workers and 67 out of 100 clerical workers gave the same answer. Of these 435 persons 83 per cent said they found their work either "interesting," or "fairly so"; whereas only 10 per cent gave a wholly negative answer. Seven per cent did not reply to this question, in some cases because they were unemployed at the time of the interview. Moreover, work habits frequently carry over directly into spare time interests, and vice versa. Among both men and women 21 per cent reported leisure-time interests which were directly affected by their occupations; only 8 per cent reported interests directly affected by any special courses of study. Although 9 per cent of those who had taken trade courses had never entered the trade for which they prepared, it does not follow that these courses were of no value to them. Even vocationally they may have been raised to a higher status, as better able to repair their machines, more adaptable to the introduction of new machinery, more intelligent in discussing the goods they were assigned to sell. Such indirect values in vocational courses, however, are proportionate to the inherent interest of the craft and the breadth and quality of the instruction.

The whole problem of craft and sub-technical courses has been discussed, up to this point, without limitation to the field of *adult education*. The argument has pointed to the educational values of basic craft and sub-technical courses, in contrast to limited job courses, and in many cases in contrast to traditional academic subjects. The same general principles apply to industrial education for adults.



There is, of course, a large need for specific job courses—whether provided in company schools, or in public schools. In large part, however, such specific industrial training is at present given in company schools and private schools outside of the public school system. And this probably represents an entirely healthy condition, although many employers would be glad to have the public schools take over this responsibility, and there seems to be an increasing tendency on the part of public school authorities to comply with such demands.

There is, however, little public provision at present in New York City for *general* craft and sub-technical courses for adults. The evening trade schools are limited in their scope, and restricted to persons already engaged in the particular trade for which they desire further specific training. General shop courses might be made an important feature of *educational centers for adults*. Such centers, if established, would probably be expected to include various home-craft courses as well as child psychology and other phases of parental education. Courses for particular occupations might be relegated, as at present, to special trade schools. But the craft and technical courses at such adult educational centers, as well as the basic commercial courses, might properly combine vocational values and worth in the cultivation of general intelligence and leisure-time interests. And the students in such courses would, of course, in many cases also participate in artistic and social studies, according to their individual interests. But in this field the problem merges into the whole problem of popular cultural education and must be postponed to a later chapter.

## ADULT TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The first opportunity in this country for students to take full technical courses leading to engineering degrees in evening sessions was introduced in Brooklyn in 1904 at the Polytechnic Institute. Similar provisions have since been developed in several schools in other sections. Last year (1929-30) 2,100 students were registered in the evening sessions of the Polytechnic Institute, 181 of whom were graduate student candidates for advanced degrees. The provisions for evening technical collegiate courses, however, are still inadequate. Over 500 applicants were rejected in the same year from this one school because of lack of accommodations. These were presumably of equal merit because there was no provision at that time for selection, counsel, or guidance of candidates.

Pratt Institute was founded in 1887 by Charles Pratt, a Brooklyn philanthropist. In founding the Institute Mr. Pratt outlined four main purposes which in brief are as follows:

1. "To found a school that shall help all classes of workers."
2. "To found a school that shall give everybody a chance."
3. "To establish a school that shall not compete with the public and private schools of Brooklyn; but . . . shall supplement those schools."
4. "To help as large a number as possible to secure this type of education."

Later a fifth purpose was expressed in these terms:

5. "To found a free library for the citizens of Brooklyn."

Long before the term "adult education" was coined, Pratt Institute was designed to promote the education of young and old.

Much pioneer work was done, and much experimentation in many educational fields. At first, courses were offered in the trades; kindergarten training was inaugurated, when the kindergarten was new and unrecognized; a manual training high school was established to suggest such methods in the public schools; in the library the need of trained workers led to the creating of a library school, the second to be established anywhere, and now the first in point of continuous operation under the same auspices and with unchanged character.

Certain of the pioneer courses were given up as they came into vogue in other educational channels, or as they proved otherwise non-essential. Pratt Institute now consists of four schools: School of Fine and Applied Arts, School of Household Science and Arts, School of Science and Technology, and the Library and Library School. In every school the courses are of the most practical type, training men and women for actual performance in many useful occupations.

Collegiate degrees and academic credits are not recognized, as they necessarily discriminate against the qualified person who has not undergone the routine of standardized education, to whom the door at Pratt is always open. No degrees are given, but certificates and diplomas are granted for work satisfactorily completed. Evening courses with a wide range of subjects are open to those who are employed during the day.

On the high school level, the Brooklyn Technical High School has a most excellent standing. The evening sessions, however, are largely devoted to specific trade courses and are not on a comparable basis with courses given in the daytime. It is at present impossible for a boy to complete even a fraction of the work required for a technical high school diploma in evening sessions. This



is in striking contrast to the situation at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn where a man can complete a full engineering course with credit in evening classes. The new Brooklyn Technical High School building is the most expensive project ever undertaken by the Board of Education of the City of New York. It seems reasonable to expect that these facilities will not be restricted to the sons of those families that are able to finance day attendance during four years. The unified administration of day and evening sessions in this field may be essential if the highest standards are to be maintained.

An outstanding need in technical education at the present time, however, in the United States (a need already supplied in other countries) is for increased facilities for short complete courses on the engineering school level. The organization of technical education in America has been controlled by the momentum of academic tradition rather more than by the actual needs of industry. Engineering colleges, offering four, five, and six-year courses leading to engineering degrees, have had an extensive and prosperous development. A few technical institutes, of which an outstanding example is the School of Science and Technology of Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, have offered intensive two-year courses for men who have had high school foundation or its equivalent, usually supplemented by practical industrial experience. In some engineering fields, notably in industrial production, these men have been able to compete successfully with the graduates of engineering colleges.<sup>9</sup> There are in America very few graduates of two-year technical institutes in comparison with the number of graduates from collegiate engineering schools. But three careful, independent

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin*, Pratt Institute, School of Science and Technology, 1929, p. 44, in comparison with salary data compiled by S.P.E.E.



studies of manufacturing and public utility companies in New Jersey, conducted under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, supplemented by studies in other parts of the country, have shown that positions for which two-year institute courses are judged to provide adequate preparation occur 2.7 times as frequently as positions calling for full collegiate training. The director of this survey concluded, on the basis of extensive investigations, that "there are at present approximately one-fiftieth as many technical institute men in manufacture as the employers say they should have. An output of from 15,000 to 20,000 technical institute men could probably be annually absorbed in manufacture alone. Less comprehensive estimates from the public utility and transportation industries indicate demands in proportion. Evidence is conclusive that industry is under-recruited with technically trained men. This condition applies particularly to areas of technical education other than the four-year engineering college."<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, there does not seem to be any oversupply of college trained engineers. This is, in part, because many of these men, usually after a period of technical experience, move into managerial, commercial or public service fields. In an extensive study of the occupations of engineering college graduates, published by the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education in 1926, it was found that the positions of recent and older graduates were distributed as follows:<sup>11</sup>

|                  | TECHNICAL<br>ENGINEERING | RESEARCH<br>AND<br>TEACHING | ADMINISTRATIVE,<br>OWNERSHIP,<br>SALES, ETC. | CLERICAL<br>MANUAL AND<br>MISCELLANEOUS |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Recent graduates | 59.6                     | 11.5                        | 16.2                                         | 12.7                                    |
| Older graduates  | 22.5                     | 10.1                        | 63.9                                         | 3.5                                     |

<sup>10</sup> Address by Robert Spahr, American Junior College Association, 1929.

<sup>11</sup> Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, *Bulletin* No. 3, pp. 5, 6.

In view of such a variety of responsibilities the importance of breadth of background in engineering education deserves emphasis. In this connection it may be interesting to compare some indices of the cultural interests of evening technical students with other evening students (and a group of continuation school boys), as revealed by answers to questions regarding leisure-time interests circulated by the Conference staff. (See table on opposite page.)

It must be remembered that evening students at Pratt Institute, School of Science and Technology, are not accepted as candidates for a degree. The low points in the cultural interests of Polytechnic students are largely explicable by the high pressure of full time work and a crowded program of engineering studies. One might wish that the interest in politics and economics, as revealed by reading habits, were more extensive and vital. In large part educational breadth in engineering education must be developed informally through teacher-pupil and student group contacts. High grade, intensive courses in history, sociology, economics, and perhaps in art and philosophy are also important. There is, as a matter of fact, a definite tendency in this direction at present at work among American engineering colleges.

In adult technical education a first consideration is that the evening pupil should be given privileges equal to those of the day pupil, and held to equivalent standards where equivalent credits are concerned. The need for fairly short, well-rounded technical courses on the college level, demanded by present industrial conditions, and peculiarly suited to the needs of persons who have had, or are having, actual experience in industry, has been discussed at some length. A third consideration is the pos-

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF READING AND LEISURE-TIME INTERESTS

|                                      | One or more of six<br>New York City dailies * | N. Y. American,<br>Evening Journal,<br>with tabloid or without * | Tabloid only * | Fiction | History, biography, etc | Philosophy, religion, etc. | Politics, economics, etc. | Science | Interest in radio | Preference for classical<br>music on radio | Motion pictures and<br>musical shows | Drama | Music | Art | Frequent visits to<br>art museums | Frequent visits to natural<br>history museums, etc. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 100 Hunter<br>evening students       | 78                                            | 0                                                                | 0              | 76      | 48                      | 38                         | 23                        | 30      | 85                | 41                                         | 77                                   | 78    | 37    | 16  | 16                                | 13                                                  |
| 300 C.C.N.Y.<br>evening students     | 76                                            | 3                                                                | 1              | 76      | 39                      | 34                         | 43                        | 42      | 70                | 23                                         | 85                                   | 39    | 32    | 9   | 9                                 | 14                                                  |
| 100 Polytechnic<br>evening students  | 78                                            | 0                                                                | 0              | 50      | 23                      | 30                         | 22                        | 80      | 88                | 51                                         | 65                                   | 35    | 26    | 6   | 6                                 | 17                                                  |
| 100 Pratt Tech.<br>evening students  | 65                                            | 9                                                                | 2              | 67      | 24                      | 16                         | 23                        | 48      | 93                | 19                                         | 76                                   | 28    | 28    | 5   | 3                                 | 11                                                  |
| 300 continuation<br>school boys .... | 42                                            | 16                                                               | 14             | 60      | 23                      | 6                          | 7                         | 34      | 75                | 9                                          | 77                                   | 24    | 27    | 8   | 8                                 | 14                                                  |

\* Only three groups of newspapers included in this table; other, smaller groups of papers omitted. The first group comprises Herald-Tribune, Post, Sun, Telegram, Times and World.

sibility of general increase in breadth in adult technical education in so far as this can be achieved without sacrificing technical needs and without unduly burdening the adult student. The provisions of specific technical courses adapted to particular fields is also desirable in so far as such courses are supported by industrial demands.

#### COMPANY EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

There is a wide variation in policy and practice as regards the promotion of education by the industrial and commercial organizations. The subject is one on which there exists no settled opinion either on the part of the company officers or on the part of the general public. Opinions on this subject were solicited in the course of the present study, informally from various firms, and systematically in the course of interviews with individuals. Before discussing these opinions, a number of brief descriptions of educational policies of Brooklyn companies will be introduced. No attempt will be made to present an exhaustive survey but merely to select enough examples to give a picture of the present variety of provisions for education.

In several fields, notably banking and insurance, educational programs have been developed on a national basis by joint commercial agencies. The Insurance Institute of America coöperates with the insurance companies in the development of educational programs, preparing curricula and conducting examinations. The American Institute of Bankers carries on a somewhat similar program. The local chapters of the American Institute also assume direct responsibility in some cases for the establishment of courses in finance and administration for bank employees.



In a few cases, companies and trade associations coöperate with the Board of Education of the City of New York in the maintenance of courses or schools in which they are interested. The Shoe Manufacturers' Board of Trade supports the trade courses in this field given at the Brooklyn Evening Trade and Technical School. The Brooklyn Navy Yard and the Western Union Telegraph Company supply facilities for schools conducted on their premises by the Board of Education. Employers' and employees associations coöperate jointly with public school authorities in the maintenance of the Central Printing Trades Continuation School and Evening School. The school at the Navy Yard is especially interesting in that it provides general academic courses for young men who also receive vocational training as apprentices through regular shop work and related instruction. Those entering as apprentices must not be less than sixteen and must pass a qualifying examination. They are trained over a period of years in one of the following trades: machine, electrical, joinery, boat building, boiler making, blacksmithing, forging or caulking.

An apprentice system is also maintained at the Mergenthaler Linotype Company. But the system has now largely disappeared from Brooklyn industries, having been given up in a number of plants where it was formerly in force. The decline of this great educational device is due in part to the speeding up of production, so that the training of employees is either excluded or departmentalized. But in large part it is due to the decline in demand for highly skilled craftsmen, already taken into account. The decline of the apprentice system and opportunities for broad training on the job obviously throws the responsibility for basic trade and technical

programs upon individuals, schools, and educational departments in industry.

The most extensive company educational program in Brooklyn is conducted by the Brooklyn Edison Company through its Educational Bureau. The Bureau is conducted, according to an official statement, "to enable employees to acquire reliable and useful information concerning the Company's business." But the actual program really goes beyond this limited objective, through the provision of fundamental technical and commercial courses. "The Bureau has established courses in forty-two subjects, each one of which has a definite application in the Company's business. Classes in these courses are conducted by sixty-one instructors. Of these, three are well known consulting authorities in their respective fields, four are full time instructors and devote all of their time to the Company's educational work, and the remainder are employees of the Company who have been selected because of their special qualifications in the subjects which they teach. Employees who attend these courses can feel confident that they will obtain useful knowledge, presented accurately and logically by instructors who know their special needs." The Bureau has five classrooms and six laboratories at its disposal. Most of the courses are offered on a voluntary basis, outside of working hours, but without cost to employees. Written work and examinations are expected but not required. Grades are recorded, and diplomas are granted for the satisfactory completion of a related group of courses.

The courses are divided into two major groups, technical and commercial. In each group basic courses, such as mathematics and the elements of engineering, business English and applied self-analysis, are offered as well as courses which are more limited in relation to specific com-

pany operations, such as the company's electrical system, sub-station operation, subway construction, technical dictation and the use of engineering terms. Considerable emphasis is laid on courses in public contact, public relations, and public utility economics, studied of course from the standpoint of a public utility company. The last mentioned is the only course which is given to selected groups of employees on the company's time.

The educational policy of the New York Telephone Company offers an interesting contrast to that of the Edison Company in that while the telephone business requires an extensive educational system this is, for the most part, limited rather narrowly to specific job training courses, given to assigned groups of employees on company time. Some departments, however, have also arranged voluntary out-of-hours courses, meeting perhaps once a week, under the leadership of supervisors. There are also a few courses (twelve in 1928-9) dealing with technical phases of departmental administration, given out-of-hours at the central office in New York. But these technical out-of-hours courses are open only to persons in administrative positions.

A still different approach to the educational problem is followed by another group of public utility corporations: the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, the Brooklyn Union Gas Company, and the Kings County Lighting Company. These organizations have not established independent technical courses but have provided for the education of technicians and supervisors within their own ranks through subsidizing approved courses taken by properly qualified employees. One of these companies appropriates about fifteen thousand dollars annually for such educational work. Last year it subsidized technical education for 96 men: 44 in the Columbia University



Home Study course in gas engineering, 22 men in a special course at the Polytechnic Institute, and 30 men in a special course at the Central Branch Y.M.C.A. In these technical courses each company advances the initial cost of the course, one-half of which is collected from the employees in installments during the period of study. However, if the employee completes the course with credit, this part-payment is refunded as a bonus, so that the entire cost is borne by the organization. Somewhat similar provisions for technical education are followed by the other two companies also. In addition to technical courses these companies have also experimented, successfully in the opinion of the company officers, with public speaking courses for executives. Company magazines, to which employees are invited to contribute notes, verses and drawings, are regarded as an asset to company morale. The further development of purely voluntary systematic courses, provided in part at company expense but perhaps in part by registration fees, is being considered, especially by companies that are located at a considerable distance from the municipal centers. This development, however, is still in a highly experimental and indeterminate stage. All of the gas companies being, of course, interested in the encouragement of home cooking, offer a service to consumers that has real educational value in the provision of classes in cooking and nutrition. A home crafts educational program is also carried on under the auspices of the Home Guild of the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*.

A much more elaborate type of consumers' education is represented in the classes maintained by the Sperry Gyroscope Company. This concern provides a free three-months full time technical course open to men selected by navigation companies and to other qualified applicants



interested in studying the operation of the gyroscope and related technical problems.

The high grade department stores in Brooklyn, in addition to provision for introductory training, unanimously recognize the value of promoting educational interests both among buyers and among the sales force. The educational policy of large retail organizations supports not only limited commercial aspects such as principles of salesmanship or courses relating to the conduct of particular departments, but also background courses in textiles and art, such as the course in color, line and design given at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The extent and methods of educational work vary, of course, with different organizations. One system carries on its own educational program, including both compulsory and voluntary features. But in most of the stores the work, except for the initial training, is on entirely voluntary basis, the company subsidizing courses of study by qualified employees in approved institutions. Most of the stores arrange to have the best style magazines, as well as their own charts, available for employees to read. The reading of magazines related to their work is a common leisure-time habit among salesmen and saleswomen. One wise personnel director, of long experience, frequently recommends and facilitates registration in general courses, such as history or psychology, in cases where employees are tending to become "shoppy" and need the stimulation of new intellectual interests and contacts.

The Hoffman Beverage Company, in Long Island City, just outside Brooklyn proper, carried on an interesting educational experiment last winter in recognition of the importance of basic commercial training for semi-skilled employees who have frequent and important customer

contacts. Arrangements were made for an optional course in the elementary principles of business management, open to route delivery men. A large majority of these men have attended every session, and the vitality of interest has been demonstrated by the fact that the men have frequently stayed long after the class was dismissed in order to continue the discussion. For the sake of emphasizing the voluntary character of the course a nominal fee was required. The company plans to use the money collected in this way in the development of a company library.

A more specific type of training work for employees in a similar position is arranged by the Standard Oil Company of New York. Courses of instruction are now given to service station men covering elementary service station practice or what is popularly called driveway selling. The class lasts two weeks and covers classroom work in the mornings with practical service station work in the afternoon. It gives a general knowledge of the products and how to sell them, with special regard to courtesy and service rendered the customer. The second course lasts also two weeks and is known as intermediate service station practice and covers the giving of Socony Certified Lubrication to the car owner. It is really a course in the art of lubrication of the automobile. This is only one feature of Socony's fairly extensive and rapidly developing educational policy.

An interesting application of the principle of company educational policy to the sphere of municipal affairs is found in the New York Police College, established by Commissioner Whalen. This includes not merely elementary courses in police duties for probationary policemen, "rooky classes," but also advanced courses on a voluntary basis for ambitious policemen, and special training

schools for men slated for promotion as officers or detectives. There are also a school of horsemanship, a school of aviation and a school of law. Sixty-eight departmental lecturers were listed in this year's prospectus of the school of detectives, in addition to thirty-five special and visiting lecturers, outside of the Police Department officers. The school has as eloquent a slogan as appears on any collegiate seal, "Enter to learn, go forth to serve." Its purpose is enthusiastically characterized by Mayor Walker as the progress of the force "from a Police Department that is equal to the best to a Police Department that will be far ahead of the rest."

The vocational training program of the United States Navy, originally developed on a comprehensive basis by Dr. L. R. Alderman, now Specialist in Adult Education in the United States Bureau of Education, is far-reaching in its results. A considerable number of Brooklyn residents, interviewed in the adult education study, reported experiences in the navy as giving them a start in trade and technical interests.<sup>12</sup> The apprentice program for civilian employees in the Brooklyn Navy Yard shops has already been mentioned.

The Brooklyn Teachers' Association conducts an extensive educational program for the benefit of its own membership. This association, in 1929-30, offered eighty-two different courses under its auspices (mostly at the Maxwell Training School), ranging from courses preparatory to board examinations (e.g., examinations for license for elementary school principals) through contemporary American novelists, advanced English phonetics, the new psychology, story telling, typewriting, weaving, foot health and foot correction, to auction bridge and swim-

<sup>12</sup> Two of the cases selected for description in Chapter I have this reference.



ming. In addition, the association coöperates with the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Hunter College and the College of the City of New York in arrangements for other courses especially adapted to the interests of teachers.

The Brooklyn Public Library has made possible a valuable company education feature at little expense to organizations, through its willingness to establish a loan collection in any organization that will provide proper facilities, assume responsibility for the collection, and arrange for its distribution and collection. The following Brooklyn firms took advantage of this service during the year 1929:

Abraham & Straus, Austin Nichols & Company, Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corp. (in two shops), Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, Fire Department, Fire Insurance Salvage Corp., Intertype Corp., Kenyon Company, J. Kayser & Company, Kings County Lighting Company, Kirkman & Son, Frederick Loeser & Company, Martin's, The Namm Store, Police Precincts, A. Schrader's Sons, and the York Street Flax Company.

Most of these organization loan libraries include technical books related to the company's business, fiction and other general reading matter. The system has a social as well as an individual educational advantage, in that persons associated in their daily work have an opportunity in this way to recommend interesting books to one another and to discuss their contents. A few organizations prefer to maintain independent company libraries, which serve the same purpose, except where they are limited to strictly technical materials.

Enough material has been introduced to illustrate something of the variety of company educational policies and programs now actually in force. Of course, most business firms have neither policy nor program in education,



but this is no longer true of large, progressive organizations. A good many other firms post notices, now and then, of educational opportunities and let it go at that. A few of the smaller organizations make a point of giving moral and financial aid to a few hand-picked promising young men and women in their educational progress.

The main Conference questionnaire, for use with individuals, included this question: "What is your opinion about a suggestion that large companies should provide *general educational courses* for employees?" Four possible answers were offered for checking: "Favorable," "Unfavorable," "Doubtful," or "Favorable only as regards vocational courses." Space was provided for "Remarks." In spite of the intent of the authors of the questionnaire to gather information on the attitude of employees and public toward the company provisions for study by employees along basic academic, commercial or technical lines and broad, cultural topics in contrast with specific job-training courses, this distinction usually was not recognized by the people interviewed. Accordingly, a favorable answer to the question usually meant simply a favorable reaction to the idea of courses provided by companies, apart from the specific emphasis originally intended.

The conclusions to be drawn from the individual replies may be stated as follows:

1. There is, in general, a favorable attitude on the part of employees and the public at large to the development of company educational programs, although many are indifferent to the idea. In the whole set of replies 54 per cent gave an unqualified affirmative answer, whereas only 4 per cent answered "Unfavorable" and 10 per cent said "Doubtful." However, only 18 per cent used the suggested qualification, "Favorable only as regards voca-

tional courses"; and 14 per cent failed to give an answer at all.

One hundred remarks were selected at random from a scattering of replies from various occupational groups. These remarks are, of course, representative of the attitudes of persons who have definite opinions, and enough interest in the subject to record their viewpoints. In 66 cases these remarks were favorable to the idea of company educational programs, including 14 who stipulated the condition that any company courses should be on a strictly voluntary basis, but not including 3 who thought that they should be given on company time. The 31 persons who opposed the idea of such courses were divided into three groups, approximately equal: 11 who were simply indifferent, or regarded the suggestion as impractical; 11 who urged that public and endowed institutions have superior facilities, or feared that general educational programs provided by companies might have an unhealthy, anti-social bias; and 9 who felt that such courses would be a nuisance either from the standpoint of individuals or of the companies.

2. The common failure to grasp the implications of the emphasis on *general* educational programs indicates that neither the public nor company officials seriously entertain the idea that industrial and commercial organizations should undertake extensive programs of general cultural education. On the other hand, among those who interpret their replies by specific remarks, the number of those who emphasize the value of broad cultural features is about equal to the number of those who insist that company courses should be strictly related to the company's business. The majority of employees in most organizations would probably view with approval any cultural opportunities, such as lecture courses or study classes,

introduced by their organizations, providing all such welfare features were kept on a strictly voluntary basis.

A special responsibility in this regard would seem to devolve upon concerns which require unusual hours of employment, or are so located that it is difficult for their employees to avail themselves of the usual opportunities for adult study.

3. As regards the distinction in vocational courses between basic, broadly educational studies and narrowly applied training courses, little help can be expected from general expressions of public opinion. A few who recognized the problem urged the value of broad educational approach in all courses. An engineer wrote, "I believe that it might be well to inject a reasonable amount of general knowledge into any course that might be offered," and a newspaper man, who is a Boy Scout leader, wrote, "Boys should not receive too specialized courses which get them in a rut." Others suggested that it is very desirable that all employees should have an understanding of the company's business, and that this in itself has a far-reaching educational value.

In conclusion, it is apparent that progressive companies are now giving considerable attention to educational policy and are likely in the near future to give more rather than less. In the absence of adequate public provision for adult education it may frequently be wise corporation policy to promote basic academic, commercial and technical courses as well as specific job courses immediately related to the company's business. Education intended to acquaint the worker with the company's business, and the significance of his particular job in relation to the whole process of production or distribution, may be especially commended. Such a plan as that of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad whereby all employees are



encouraged to take an active part in the development of operation policies is obviously of unusual value as a type of "functional" education. Employee participation in the development of welfare and educational programs has the same value. In a few cases companies may also profitably provide popular cultural programs, as employee welfare features, but these instances will probably be exceptional. In general, however, employees and the public at large like the idea of company educational programs, and regard their establishment with favor.

#### EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS— WORKERS' EDUCATION

So far as the Conference staff is aware, there have not been any study courses immediately under the auspices of labor unions, as such, in Greater New York, since the recent suspension of the classes conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Centers which Brooklyn workers, interested in various phases of the trade union movement, attend for study are: the Women's Trade Union League, summer schools for women in industry at Bryn Mawr College and at Barnard College, industrial conferences under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A., Brookwood Labor College, The Rand School (Socialist, although officially independent of the Socialist Party) and The Workers' School (Communist). Recently provision has been made for a popular course in workers' education at the Columbia University center in Brooklyn, Seth Low Junior College. It is immediately apparent that vigorous educational interest among trade unionists is divided between a few women's organizations, affiliated intellectuals, and left-wing unionists. The main body of organized labor in this vicinity has little interest in work-



ers' education along economic and social lines, although it has always given strong support to the traditional program of the public schools and is interested in some forms of vocational education.

The same disparity in educational interest between the right and left wings of the trade union movement, as such, is illustrated by local conditions in Brooklyn. Workers' education in Brooklyn is confined to groups that are Socialist in political philosophy, except for a few Communist groups. The groups interested in workers' education are also largely Jewish. The principal agencies, outside of political organizations, such as the Young People's Socialist League, are the Workmen's Circles (fraternal organizations which carry on quite a variety of educational courses for members, with emphasis ranging from the cultural and literary to the economic and political) and a few labor lyceums, such as Arion Mansion (the Brooklyn center of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, where an editor of *Vorwärts* leads large forums in Yiddish every Sunday afternoon), and the independent Brownsville Labor Lyceum, which provides a center for a variety of study groups among young people and adults. The Brownsville Labor Lyceum also provides the facilities for the popular health lectures given annually by the Brownsville Medical Association. On the other hand, the "Christian unions" apparently have little or no interest in social education. The old Labor Lyceum on Wiloughby Street has no educational activities. It is simply a hall for entertainments and for periodical union meetings.

There are differences of opinion as to whether or not labor unions should carry on educational programs among their membership. So far as general cultural development is concerned, in a country where cultural opportunities are freely available, it is an open question whether labor

unions should be purely instruments of economic adjustment or also societies for promoting the general well-being of the members, including intellectual stimulation through informal programs and formal classes. An extreme left wing position in this matter favors the development of all social functions under labor auspices as providing the experimental basis for a possible proletarian state, but the argument for the development of cultural functions by labor organizations does not necessarily rest upon this basis. As regards education in political and social theory, opinion is again divided. There are some who believe that labor colleges and workers' classes in economics, trade union history, and so forth, are an important instrument in stimulating labor union morale, constructive leadership, and intelligent participation by the rank and file in the development of labor union policies. Others feel that the courses offered at public and university centers provide adequate resources for the study of political and social problems by labor leaders, and that the promotion of educational programs under union auspices involves unnecessary duplication and a dissipation of union energies. An attempt to resolve these divergent points of view would lead beyond the proper scope of the present study. It is simply within our province to note that, although conditions may be very different in other sections of the country, within the area studied there is little evidence that workers' education, as related to orthodox trade unions, is likely to play any important part in the development of adult education in the near future.

## CHAPTER IV

### FOREIGN GUESTS AND NEW AMERICANS

The problem of providing adequate educational facilities for newcomers to American shores is a persistent one. Although immigration has been restricted, a constant stream of some three hundred thousand new residents pours in each year, the majority entering the Port of New York. Among the three hundred thousand new immigrants each year about two hundred thousand come from non-English-speaking homes. The situation has commenced to reach proportions where there is some hope that it can be handled effectively, but it is still a very serious and vital issue in such an urban area as Brooklyn. In addition to linguistic difficulties, residents from foreign lands have peculiar economic and cultural problems. Since they are largely unskilled workers, they are the first group to suffer in a period of depression, and all the usual urban cultural and personal problems are aggravated by the difficulty of adjusting foreign ways of living and the peculiar strain introduced into parent-child relationships. Aid in overcoming language difficulties is the first step in immigrant education, but it is not by any means the whole story.

#### INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH

This is the foundation of immigrant education, and most progress has been made in this field. The most ex-



tensive service in this field is rendered through the public school evening classes, the so-called "evening elementary classes." In the year 1928-29 there was a total registry in evening elementary classes of the New York City Schools of 42,327, but on the average there were only 31,622 enrolled at any one time and the average attendance was 20,771. The irregularity of enrollment and attendance presents serious administrative problems. In part it is due to the fact that the classes in the fall are so large that pupils easily get discouraged and drop out, but in large part it is due to the voluntary nature of attendance at the classes and to inevitable interruptions of vocational and personal character. A breadwinner cannot usually afford to refuse overtime work, and a mother may be needed at home. About one-third of these "evening elementary pupils" were Brooklyn residents. It is generally recognized that a reduction in the size of these classes would afford superior educational results, but the Board of Education has been reluctant to grant increased funds for this purpose.

The Board of Education also provides day classes in English for non-English-speaking adults. These classes are held in schools and in various community institutions, mostly Jewish. These classes are recruited and maintained through the coöperation of various societies, especially the National Council of Jewish Women. About one-half of these classes are located in Brooklyn. The Superintendent of Schools in a recent bulletin on the Progress of the Public Schools reports that from 1924 to 1929 the average enrollment in such classes in New York City has increased from 4,640 to 7,153, and the appropriations for this purpose from \$39,312 to \$53,746. This involves, however, a decrease in expenditure per pupil from \$8.47 per year in 1924 to \$7.51 per year in 1929.



On the whole the evidence collected by the Brooklyn Conference, presented below, indicates that the public school provisions for the study of English by new residents from foreign shores are fairly effective in meeting this objective. The achievements of the Board of Education in this field are all the more noteworthy because of the absence of keen public concern for immigrant education. A greater public interest in this problem would undoubtedly be reflected in constantly improved methods of instruction, more effective methods of publicity and recruiting, and would afford the necessary support for the development of such advance lines of immigration education as are recommended in this chapter.

Another agency of immigrant education carries instruction in English into the homes of foreign-born women, mostly Italian and Polish. This agency, the Neighborhood Teacher Association, is very sympathetic and intelligent in its educational methods. The expense of this procedure, which undoubtedly reaches women who in most cases could be reached in no other way, is necessarily higher than the expense of instruction in large classes. There is danger that the association may have to discontinue its work for lack of funds. One aspect of the matter makes this prospect especially regrettable. Out of 200 women served by the Neighborhood Teacher Association from whom the Conference received schedules, 170 were mothers, having a total of 620 children. It follows that where 100 mothers are aided by the Neighborhood Teacher Association in learning the language used by their children in the schools and on the street, 423 children will be indirectly benefited in their home relations.

The public school day classes in English and the Neighborhood Teacher Association both minister especially to the needs of women. This is extremely impor-

tant, because it is easier for men to attend evening classes, and vocational requirements are a spur in their case to do so. On the other hand, there is even greater need of enlisting women in the study of English because they have less chance to learn the new language incidentally in their daily contacts. And the value of English in home contacts although commercially less important is hardly of inferior social significance.

The Council on Adult Education for the Foreign-Born is a clearing house of coöperation between social agencies in this field and is the official organ of philanthropic effort for immigrant education in this city. It coöperates closely with the Board of Education in attention to classes in English. Beyond this, it coöperates with foreign language groups in developing educational programs, in English and in other tongues.

Among the questionnaires collected by the Brooklyn Conference from 1,166 persons (744 men, 422 women) in the "random sample" reached outside of student sources, and under such conditions as to reduce bias regarding educational interests to a minimum, there are 271 from persons (195 men, 76 women) whose native language was other than English. Most of these, however, except for a few schedules collected by field workers familiar with Italian and Yiddish, were necessarily secured from persons now speaking English tolerably well. Among these persons born in non-English-speaking countries, 38 per cent of the men and 24 per cent of the women have at some time attended some sort of classes in English in this country. The rest have managed to get along without this help. This is probably a fair indication of the extent of the service rendered by such classes.

In order to gather further data on experiences of foreign residents in learning English, a special questionnaire

was prepared and 415 interviews on the basis of this questionnaire were conducted at the Brooklyn office of the United States Naturalization Bureau with petitioners for citizenship, i.e., applicants for final papers. The requirements for citizenship include five years residence in the United States, an ability to read simple English, and an elementary acquaintance with the system of government in this country. All of those interviewed were necessarily persons claiming such qualifications. The Conference has no information as to which individuals were accepted and which were rejected for citizenship. Names were not taken, in order to assure the persons interviewed that the information was wanted for the purpose of learning about schools and not as a part of their examination for citizenship. Only immigrants from non-English-speaking countries were interviewed, otherwise the selection was purely random.

Exactly one-half of these petitioners (who had lived in the United States for five years or more and were now appearing for their final papers) have ever attended classes in English in this country—208 out of 415. All except 7 of these attended such classes in public schools—184 in Greater New York and 17 in other cities. For convenience in making statistical comparisons, 8 schedules received from persons having attended classes in English (including 1 from outside New York City) and 7 schedules received from those who have not studied English in this country were discarded, at random, giving two samples of 200 each, i.e., 200 petitioners who have attended some sort of English classes in America, and 200 petitioners who have not. Together these 400 schedules may be taken as fairly representative of Brooklyn petitioners for citizenship having had a native language other than English.



The familiarity with English and attendance at English classes, among different language groups, is presented in tabular form.

TABLE VII

ATTENDANCE OR NON-ATTENDANCE AT CLASSES IN ENGLISH AMONG 400 PETITIONERS FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE GROUPS

| LANGUAGE GROUP   | NUMBER OF PERSONS | ATTENDANCE REPORTED AT ENGLISH CLASSES |                           | NO ATTENDANCE REPORTED AT ENGLISH CLASSES                |                                             |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
|                  |                   | In This Country                        | At Home But Not in U.S.A. | But Evidence of Ability to Speak English "Fairly Well" * | And Little or No Ability to Speak English * |
| German .....     | 75                | 55                                     | 10                        | 9                                                        | 1                                           |
| Italian .....    | 91                | 26                                     |                           | 27                                                       | 38                                          |
| Polish .....     | 20                | 10                                     |                           | 7                                                        | 3                                           |
| Russian .....    | 33                | 15                                     | 4                         | 10                                                       | 4                                           |
| Scandinavian .   | 50                | 24                                     | 6                         | 19                                                       | 1                                           |
| Spanish .....    | 13                | 4                                      | 4                         | 3                                                        | 2                                           |
| Yiddish .....    | 72                | 39                                     | 1                         | 19                                                       | 13                                          |
| All others ..... | 46                | 27                                     | 4                         | 13                                                       | 2                                           |
| Total .....      | 400               | 200                                    | 29                        | 107                                                      | 64                                          |

\* According to estimate of field worker conducting interview.

Among the 200 who have never attended English classes in this country, 29 had studied English in their home countries, 23 describe some sort of more or less systematic study by themselves or with friends, 29 were less than sixteen when they entered the United States, and most of these attended American schools as children. But 119 say they just "picked it up" or give some equivalent answer. Through an arrangement initiated by the Council on Adult Education for the Foreign-Born, those who are rejected for citizenship on the ground of inability to speak English or of ignorance of the United States government are advised to attend public school classes.



A further study was made of 100 individuals who reported attendance at public school evening elementary or day classes in English for adults. The results of investigation show, in general, a very favorable attitude on the part of the former pupils toward the classes which they attended. These results are consistent with the impressions gained by the director of the survey in visiting evening classes conducted by the Board of Education. Teachers had few materials to work with, such as maps, pictures or other supplementary material. In a few instances lack of sufficient text-books was reported. The large classes made sufficient individual attention to pupils impossible, and this condition should be remedied. But in general the teachers seemed to take a serious interest in their work, to command the respect and good will of the pupils, and to have a fair knowledge of teaching methods.

In these interviews, the subjects were asked to fill out a simple information sheet, with nine questions. These questions were so composed that three contained only very simple words, four others words of somewhat greater difficulty, and the last two questions contained several words each selected from Rejall's "advanced list."<sup>1</sup> These questions were so arranged that they could be answered by a check-mark, a word supplied in the sentence, or a figure. Only two could be correctly answered by "Yes" or "No." The questions were ostensibly merely a set of questions about conditions in the public schools, and were so accepted by the subjects. The papers were scored on the basis of one point for each of the nine ques-

<sup>1</sup> Alfred E. Rejall: *Thirty and One Reading Tests for Voters and Citizens*. The key simple words were: nights, week, school, many, class, men, women. The key intermediate words were: attend, recite, seldom, frequently, occupation, masculine, feminine. The advanced words were: sufficient, supply, texts, individuals.

tions intelligently answered, as a measure of reading ability.

TABLE VIII

GRADES OF READING ABILITY AMONG 100 PETITIONERS FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP REPORTING ATTENDANCE AT NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL CLASSES IN ENGLISH, WITH LENGTH OF SUCH ATTENDANCE

| LENGTH OF ATTENDANCE                    | NUMBER OF PERSONS | ABLE TO READ LITTLE OR NO ENGLISH | LOWER INTER-MEDIATE ABILITY | HIGHER INTER-MEDIATE ABILITY | ADVANCED READING ABILITY IN ENGLISH |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|                                         |                   | Score 0-2                         | Score 3-4                   | Score 5-7                    | Score 8-9                           |
| 3 months or less..                      | 16                | 4                                 | 4                           | 4                            | 4                                   |
| 3 months to 1 year                      | 47                | 2                                 | 13                          | 19                           | 13                                  |
| More than 1 year, }<br>not over 2 years | 19                | 2                                 | 2                           | 7                            | 8                                   |
| More than 2 years                       | 18                | 0                                 | 4                           | 4                            | 10                                  |
| Total .....                             | 100               | 8                                 | 23                          | 34                           | 35                                  |

It is clear that the length of attendance in English classes yields increasing results in ability to read English. It is also clear that many come to these classes with good intentions but leave before they have mastered the language.

There was, however, very little complaint against class conditions. Only two made highly derogatory comments, although eight stated that they had dropped the course because they were dissatisfied or transferred to another class with better results. Ten qualified their answers when asked whether or not the course was helpful, joining praise with blame. No answers were recorded in twelve cases. Sixty-one gave a generally favorable reply. Fifteen were enthusiastic in their praise.

Answers to the question, "Was the course beneficial?" run as follows: "Never called to recite" (attended one term), "Very good, teacher nice, liked the people," "Very good," "Hard to understand," "Not very," "Very," "I

doubt it," "Learned all I know about English there," "Learned more in the class in one year than in six years before," "Too much fooling in the class," "Teacher poor," "Learned more in P.S. than at a private school," "Class too large, but on the whole helpful," "Teacher talked too fast" (although the student had had three years of English in Germany).

On the whole the evidence indicates the existence of very fair conditions in the public school classes in English for the foreign-born, so far as the teaching of language is concerned.

#### LARGER ASPECTS OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

The weakness in the public school program of immigrant education is that it limits its cultural concern to instruction in English language and omits from preparation for citizenship any scientific study of the economic and social issues upon which modern citizens are expected to pass judgment. The instruction in civics hardly goes beyond the first principles of patriotism and the study of the mere forms of government. The ideas set forth in the brief essays prepared by the New York State Department of Adult Education for use in the Regents Literacy Tests may be regarded as indicative of the realm of discourse in which this instruction moves:

"The American flag means liberty and justice for everybody. It is honored by all true citizens on the land and on the sea. Our soldiers and sailors are willing to fight and even die for it. The colors of the flag tell the story of the Nation's freedom. Red is for bravery, white is for purity, and blue is for justice. The stripes tell the number of the original states of the United States and the stars tell the number of states now in the Union. All true Americans love the Stars and Stripes. Let us respect the flag and be true to it."

—New York State Regents Literacy Test 3.



"Just as there are city laws, there are also state laws. The men chosen by the people meet in one city in each state to make the laws for that state. Each state has a capital. The building in which the laws of the state are made is called the capitol. The law-makers of a state are called the state legislature. They make all the state laws which are thought necessary for the benefit of the people. Some of the laws made are those for carrying on business, and those providing for public education. Laws in all the states in this country provide for public schools."

—New York State Regents Literacy Test 13.

"The farmer is one of the most useful men in the world. People depend upon the farmer for food. He furnishes the people of the cities with fruits, vegetables, grain, butter and eggs. His cows supply us with milk. He plows and plants in the spring. He gathers his crops in the summer and fall. During the planting season he works from early morning until late at night. He has more time for himself in the winter. He sends his produce to all parts of the world. Much of his success depends upon the weather."

—New York State Regents Literacy Test 23.

The approach to national affairs represented in these paragraphs, unless supplemented by more advanced economic, social and political studies, would seem to leave new Americans still unprepared for discriminating and effective participation in public affairs. There is little doubt that many new citizens would eagerly accept an opportunity to go beyond such first principles into an objective analysis of current public problems, relevant facts, and different types of political proposals. There would seem to be a strong case for offering to immigrants, as well as others, opportunities for studies in history and social science, on a popular level, but developed critically and scientifically.

Introduction to American culture through the study



of its historic background and contemporary movements in art and theory, affording intellectual stimulation which will help new Americans both to appreciate and develop the values of old world cultures and to become at home in a new intellectual milieu, are perhaps equally important. Little has as yet been accomplished in this direction. The social and recreational programs developed by the Board of Education as a feature of the evening elementary schools were designed to this end, but were dropped because of various complaints, although they were on the whole popular with the students. An Evening Elementary School Student Council has been kept alive by the encouragement and leadership of the Council on Adult Education for the Foreign-Born.

These needs present difficult problems. The liberal policy of the Board of Education in allowing the use of public school buildings, under proper safeguards, by community organizations suggests one sort of answer, namely, the stimulation of informal educational and social programs under the auspices of various community organizations working *en rapport* with the public school authorities. This line of development is being promoted by the People's Institute of Brooklyn, the Council on Adult Education for the Foreign-Born and other agencies, and through the development of Public School Community Centers.

Another answer, which should be thought of as complementary rather than as alternative to the previous suggestion, is the development of public Educational Centers for Adults along broader lines than the present so-called "evening elementary classes." In such centers the classes in English for persons brought up with another mother tongue might be thought of as introductory classes to a comprehensive group of offerings, including such

courses as child psychology, literature, economics and so forth, rather than as an end in themselves.

In short, the larger aspects of immigrant education merge into the general problems of all adult education. Adults from foreign environments need just the same sort of education for commercial, domestic and civic life that other adults need, except perhaps a little more urgently. There is, however, in the immigrant problem the added need of tying up formal educational programs so far as possible with informal cultural organizations, including foreign language associations, through which immigrants are working out their cultural adjustments in a new environment.

The constructive suggestions here introduced will be developed at greater length in the chapter on Community Organizations and Public Policy in Adult Education.

## CHAPTER V

### VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL COUNSEL

Vocational counsel is still a very much undeveloped art and, as commonly practiced, a rather amateurish procedure. But, when properly developed, it may be of inestimable value in reducing industrial waste and saving human frustration and despair. The professional vocational counselor, when he comes to his own, will command a set of techniques analogous to those of the physician or the psychiatrist. And commercial experience, analogous to clinical experience, will be recognized as an essential part of his training. He will not attempt to tell persons what to do, but he will place at their disposal particular sets of information that are pertinent to the particular interests and measure of abilities of the persons who come to him. When the profession is fully developed, vocational counselors will undoubtedly, following in this regard the practice of physicians, frequently refer their clients to specialists in various fields. Eventually the service may be placed on a frankly economic, professional basis. The service of a good vocational counselor would seem to be as valuable per hour as the service of a good dentist. Although it is important to distinguish between vocational guidance and mere placement service, vocational guidance may be most effective when associated with practical placement service. In this connection it may be noted that, next to schools and teachers, em-

ployment exchanges were listed by persons interviewed in Brooklyn as the most frequent source of helpful vocational guidance at present.

#### POPULAR INTEREST IN VOCATIONAL COUNSEL

All persons interviewed in the present investigation were asked, "Would you like at times to consult some reliable person or agency having special information about possibilities in different occupations?" Information on this point was collected from 2,789 men and 1,700 women. In the case of the men, the number giving a definite affirmative answer is more than twice the number of those who are indifferent or give a negative answer. Many of the comments indicate how eagerly such help would be sought if it were available. In the case of the women the answers run fifty-fifty, but if the homemakers are excluded more than three women are found who give an affirmative answer to every two who are indifferent or negative. Exclusive of the 620 homemakers included in the schedules analyzed in this connection, 2,441 men and women out of 3,869, or 63 per cent, say definitely that they would be glad, or at least would have been glad at some time, to have professional help in planning their vocations. And even among the homemakers, if those who have had only elementary schooling are excluded from the comparison, there are 125 who state that they would now, or at some time would have been, interested in receiving such counsel, in contrast to 109 who give an adverse reply. Only among homemakers, on the lower educational levels, is there a general apathy regarding the possibilities or desirability of such aid. In the case of 647 young women between the ages of 16 and 25 and engaged in paid occupations 66 per cent express an in-



terest in vocational counsel. And in the case of young men in the same age group the figure climbs to 77 per cent.

#### PRESENT EXTENT OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN BROOKLYN

Some very valuable experiments in the development of vocational guidance in junior high schools are now in progress, under the Board of Education, with the encouragement and coöperation of the Vocational Service for Juniors. Guidance in the continuation schools will be discussed in a separate section. Various high, preparatory, collegiate and technical schools are commencing to give attention to the problem. Long Island University is at the present time playing a leading rôle in this field among Brooklyn colleges and universities.

Undoubtedly some of the most valuable work in vocational counsel can be done with day students in planning their studies in relation to practical careers. The time has come when elementary schools, high schools and colleges can no longer in good conscience go blithely along their way teaching traditional subjects with little concern as to where the graduate finds himself vocationally at the end of the process. Progressive school systems are already alert to the value of developing vocational guidance programs.

Nevertheless, some of the most important vocational counsel must take place in the period in which young men and women are trying themselves out in commercial and industrial situations, and frequently in the case of older persons whose vocational problems are often the most acute. In this large field of "adult" vocational counsel public offices, schools for adults, and institutions such as the Y's and the K. of C. must, for the present at least, share responsibility.

The State of New York, in its Junior Employment Service, has recently given attention to the provision of counseling services, which, however, terminate abruptly at the age line where young men and women become qualified to vote.

Institutions in intimate contact with young people, and at the same time *en rapport* with the world of affairs, are in a peculiarly advantageous position to render most service in this field. The possibility of establishing such services on a moderate fee rate per hour, under institutional auspices, is worthy of serious consideration. Such a move would do much toward placing vocational counseling on a higher professional level. Where such service is of a caliber to warrant its being proffered at all, many young men and women would be glad to avail themselves of it on a reasonably paid basis. The recent survey of the Young Men's Christian Association in Brooklyn included an interesting comparison between the merely incidental vocational guidance given by one secretary in the course of employment service and the vocational guidance given by the same man—incidentally, a very competent person—in hours especially set aside, on certain evenings, for consultation and counsel. Ratings were made by a group of experts on the guidance services of several educational and employment secretaries, and on one secretary in the two different capacities just described.

The results of the foregoing analysis are summarized as follows:

While carrying on routine employment, the observers recognized in the methods of this secretary more of vocational guidance than was shown on the average by other employment secretaries, but not much more. While he was acting as a guidance secretary his work was notably better, particularly in the fields of helping men to make their own choices of a

vocational objective and still more in the field of helping them to prepare to attain this choice.<sup>1</sup>

This conclusion points to the importance of the establishment of vocational counseling service on a definite, professional basis.

Altogether, 458 persons out of 4,489 whose records were analyzed for this factor, or approximately 10 per cent, say that at some time in their lives they have received vocational counsel that has been of real help. Considering the inadequacy of present facilities the number is surprisingly large. It is immediately apparent, however, that the term "vocational guidance" was given an interpretation not strictly technical by the persons filling out the questionnaires, for 108 describe the sources of such help as older men, friends, or relatives. Another 70 do not state the source. The remaining 271 cases which may possibly be attributed to professional or semi-professional sources divide the credit for aid received as follows: school authorities and teachers, 57 per cent; labor exchanges, 24 per cent; Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and similar organizations, 12 per cent; clubs, churches and social organizations, 7 per cent.

#### COMPULSORY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS AS VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE INSTITUTIONS

The continuation schools are an important transitional system between regular day elementary schools and adult education. The continuation schools partake of the character of the former by being compulsory and concerned with youths who would still be in elementary or high schools if they had not entered industry or business.

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished Ms. *Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. Survey*, 1928.



These schools, however, partake of the special character of adult schools in that they are dealing with young men and women who have already taken over the responsibility of adults in providing for their own support, and perhaps contributing to the support of others. Still more important, the continuation schools are "adult" in their conception and purpose, in that they are not primarily designed to promote general education, but to grapple with the special problems of vocational adjustment. They are calculated to be an expression of continued public interest in youth who leave school to begin active economic careers. Emphasis is accordingly supposed to be placed on such matters as medical examination, health counsel, homemaking, vocational try-outs, and vocational counsel.

The purpose of the continuation schools was officially stated in the Thirtieth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools as follows:

The development of the general continuation school is a peculiarly American product and has many points of difference when compared with the plan of European continuation schools. The American plan aims to place the child where he is best fitted by his aptitudes, desires and training within the trade or business in which he is working. This latter plan is more like the central continuation schools which are being developed in New York City. The American plan provides for vocational guidance which includes (1) the first placement in industry and an assignment to a school activity, (2) testing and counselling by trained counsellors, (3) routing in several selected courses of the differentiated program similar to that found in the well organized junior high school, (4) as a result of the study of the individual to determine his aptitudes and desires and the giving of comprehensive occupational information, a second and more definite choice of occupation is made which may be along the same lines as the first placement, or a second position may be obtained, (5) additional training is given for this occupation, (6) further follow-up



shows that if this second choice seems to be successful, the work of the general continuation school ceases and the child is transferred to a central continuation school. In this latter school extension or apprentice training is given and follow-up is continued on the job to assist in advancement.

This is a very ambitious program. An attempt has been made, in the course of the present study, to determine to what extent the continuation schools actually function as guidance institutions.

Unfortunately, the compulsory continuation school movement, like other experiments designed to further the public good by public compulsion, has encountered a mass of public indignation. It would be easy to secure from superficial testimony a picture of the continuation schools as institutions where high-handed officials, with little conception of real education, attempt to hold in check an unruly company of sullen and resentful pupils. The main questionnaire circulated by the Brooklyn Conference afforded an opportunity for comment on the subject of continuation schools. Most persons did not express any comment, and the interviewers did not elicit any comment on this subject unless it was offered spontaneously. It is only fair to assume that spontaneous comments, when the subject of continuation schools was mentioned, were most apt to come from those who had a grievance to air. The large majority in the total sample, 3,957 out of 4,639, have never attended compulsory continuation schools themselves but many of them were familiar with the schools indirectly through children and friends. Among these 3,957 persons only 3 volunteered favorable comments but 38 expressed themselves in opposition. These figures are too small to be of much significance unless they may be interpreted as indicative of general apathy.

In order to secure an exact set of data from continuation school pupils themselves, arrangements were made for staff interviews with 100 pupils in the Brooklyn Boys' Continuation School. Twenty of these interviews were conducted by the director. The other 80 were conducted by Miss Edyth Ahrens, who had been in contact with continuation school girls for five years as a secretary at the West Side Y. W. C. A. and whose attitude toward the continuation school was entirely objective. No interviews with pupils who had been in the school less than eight months were included in this sample. The staff was granted complete freedom in the selection of pupils at random, without the slightest attempt on the part of the school authorities to interfere or bias the results in any way. The pupils were put entirely at their ease. They were told that their answers would not be reported to the school authorities, and that if they had any grievance to report this was their opportunity. In practically all instances the answers seemed frank, with little indication of suspicion or distortion. In the course of conducting the questionnaire interview a special attempt was made to secure evidence on three problems, namely: (1) What is the attitude of the boys themselves toward the school? (2) Are they conscious of having received serious vocational *counsel*, and if so have they felt this counsel to be really helpful? And (3) Is there any evidence, as the boys discuss the work they have been doing in the school, their outside work and their vocational aspirations, that the opportunities for vocational *try-outs* in the shops and classes of the school have been of any importance in vocational adjustment or the formation of occupational interests? Practically identical trends were found in the interviews conducted and analyzed by the director, and in those treated by Miss Ahrens. The director believes that

the data secured are free from any serious bias and afford a significant measurement of the work of the particular school investigated.

What are the facts? In the first place, 64 out of 100 boys, now in attendance, gave a generally favorable answer. Twelve expressed themselves as indifferent, or gave equivocal answers. Twenty-four expressed a definitely negative attitude. These figures are comparable to those secured in a series of interviews with 18 young Italian women in a fruit-packing factory, who had previously attended the Brooklyn Girls' Continuation School. In this case 13 made favorable comments, in contrast to 5 whose remarks were adverse. As regards the quality of the teaching, it was not unusual for boys who were taking work in other schools, either evening high or paid private schools, to speak well of the continuation school instruction. Moreover, in visiting the Brooklyn Boys' and Girls' Continuation Schools, meeting teachers, and attending classes, the staff encountered, for the most part, a serious, friendly and businesslike atmosphere. The discipline in the continuation schools compares favorably with that in other public schools. There certainly does not exist any such laxity or spirit of rebellion as sensational publicity and popular gossip might lead one to expect.

The continuation school principals and teachers encountered in the course of this study have been for the most part persons of sincere devotion to their tasks, of educational vision and intelligence. They are worthy of a sympathetic appreciation which they frequently have not received from other members of the public school system.

The most important feature of the continuation schools regarded as institutions for vocational guidance is the opportunity afforded boys and girls to try their hand at various tasks in different shops and classes. In 55 out of



the 100 systematic interviews with Brooklyn Continuation School boys conducted by Conference staff members there was evidence that the opportunity for shop and class try-outs at the continuation school has been of help in enabling the boy to formulate life-work interests or at least that the continuation school work has a definite and beneficial bearing upon the industrial or commercial tasks in which the boy is engaged. In 40 cases such evidence is lacking, and 5 cases are listed as doubtful.

However, in the matter of receiving vocational counsel, the results of the investigation were decidedly negative. This may seem inconsistent with the facts just reported, but it is important to make the distinction between guidance through institutional set-up and guidance through counsel. For example, one youth when asked about occupation replied that he was employed in a printing establishment. In the course of the interview it developed that one day a teacher came into class and asked, "How many would like to join the printing class?" This boy raised his hand. He soon found that he liked the work very much. He applied to the placement office, and a position in a printing shop was secured for him. Later, in connection with a question about the public library, he answered, "Yes, I went there to get out a book about printing." When asked where he learned about this book he replied, "I saw the name of the book on one of the job-sheets they give out here at the school." Here is a clear instance of guidance of a very effective type through institutional set-up, but it does not involve any personal vocational counsel. In this case the boy had worked out the problem for himself and did not need any such counsel. But in other cases boys were badly in need of personal help which they apparently were not receiving.

The boys in need of special personal help fall into



several distinct groups: (1) boys in blind-alley jobs unaware of the fact and with no future plan in mind, i.e., those answering "Uncertain" or "None" to the question, "What would you be likely to take up if you were to give up present work?"; (2) boys in blind-alley jobs aware of the fact but with no idea of how to get started in more promising fields; (3) unemployed boys with vague or uncertain notions about the future; (4) boys with definite ideas of what they wanted to do but in need of guidance as to best methods of carrying out or trying out their desires; (5) boys headed obviously in the wrong direction occupationally who, because of outstanding incapacity for their jobs, need special steering—for example, a boy who is a shoe salesman, planning to continue in the selling field and actually in a sales class at school but who is obviously handicapped for sales work by a very serious speech defect; (6) boys headed for definite occupations on the basis of flimsy or unreliable evidence obtained from boy friends or from hearsay. For example, a boy in the machine shop class at the continuation school is employed as a messenger by the New York Telephone Company. He likes the machine shop class and feels that it is giving him a glimpse into a possible future trade. But in talking about his future work he said he thought he would go into a bank because a friend said there was advancement in it. The telephone company told him frankly when taking him on that there was no future for him there. In this case guidance through institutional set-up is giving the boy a glimpse into a possible future trade, but no personal vocational guidance is functioning to give the supplementary education necessary to make the guidance through try-out really constructive and effective.

In only 11 cases out of the total 100 was there any

evidence of helpful personal counsel by the school authorities as to the possibilities in different fields in relation to the boy's own interests and his fitness for different lines of work as revealed by school record, vocational record, or special tests.

All the teachers have certain periods allotted for personal consultation; but either the time is insufficient, too much of it is spent in discussion of absences or other school affairs, or the teachers lack the special qualifications for effective vocational counseling. In any event they do not contribute, in most cases, any suggestion about choice of occupations that register in the boys' minds as worth remembering.

The conclusion seems to be that there is much about the set-up and conduct of the compulsory continuation schools that is admirable, but that the mill grinds too fast to turn out much fine flour. The outstanding need, under the present set-up, seems to be the introduction of a goodly number of professionally trained vocational counselors. The idea that every continuation school teacher is such a counselor does not seem to be working out well in practice.

It may be that the teaching burden at the continuation schools could be somewhat lightened if the "coöperative school" movement were further extended. Alternate weeks of study and work enable students to earn a certain amount of income and to try out vocational possibilities while devoting half time to study. This arrangement has the advantage of giving longer hours of study than under the continuation school plan, and it avoids the strain imposed by a combination of full daytime work and evening study, which must be excessive for many children under sixteen.

An important aim of all continuation school work is

effective introduction to voluntary continuation of education in adult life. The compulsory continuation schools represent one of the best approaches yet made to the important field of education for young workers, but they do not constitute in their present stage a final solution. Advance in this line must be forwarded through the development of superior professional counseling services and the inauguration of a building program, so as to diminish the overcrowding and increase the quality of service in the continuation schools.

#### EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE

One type of guidance service should be immediately established under some impartial authority, perhaps under the auspices of the public library system, namely, an extensive information and guidance service regarding educational opportunities. The service should be easily accessible for personal and telephone calls. The full time service of a person of mature judgment, who combines the qualifications of an effective social worker with considerable business and educational experience and a familiarity with office techniques would at best satisfy the minimum requirements for such a service.

There is at the present time no reliable source of impartial information regarding educational opportunities. The first function of such an agency should be to supply information to institutional directors who wish to refer pupils to other schools. The second service, although difficult, has high possible values, namely, educational counsel for individuals. Such counsel could not always be divorced from vocational counsel, but in general individuals in need of such service should be referred to other agencies.

There is evidence that such a service would be well patronized. Twelve hundred and ninety-three out of 4,639 persons completing the Conference schedules express an interest in such a service. The Conference office, although never encouraging such requests, has received a considerable number. The point does not need to be argued with any persons in touch with educational administration. The value of exact information about educational opportunities in Greater New York is so great that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has compiled a book on the subject for the use of their employees. But in many cases information is needed that cannot readily be secured in any printed form. This need awaits the initiation of some properly equipped agency.

The demand for such service points to a need that falls directly within the province of the educational authorities of each community, and it is of peculiar importance in the field of adult education. No one institution is able to render the required service independently. An Educational Information Bureau should be sponsored jointly by the educational forces of the community.



## CHAPTER VI

### METROPOLITAN CULTURE

#### THE PROBLEM

The present system of public education practically insures universal literacy among the native population. Almost anybody born in Brooklyn to-day, unless he is feeble-minded, will become more proficient in reading and writing than Charlemagne. But it does not necessarily follow that he will have ideas commensurate with those that occupied the mind of the great emperor of the West. As a citizen of a modern metropolis he has at his service an unprecedented set of cultural instruments—press, theaters, libraries, museums, schools, churches and radio. But he may select from the wealth of materials so provided only those that are false or of little worth. Intellectually he may still live on the level of primitive superstition or of small town gossip.

Popular education, fifty years ago, was concerned with the problem of putting knowledge and art within the reach of the masses. To-day that problem has been solved along municipal and commercial lines. The Sunday editions of newspapers, magazines, and the radio—to mention only three conspicuous instruments—place within the reach of all an array of cultural offerings ranging from sheer trash to the highest achievements of scientific research and creative art. Accordingly, the interest in lecture institutes and other devices for broadcasting science

and art in wholesale fashion has largely waned, while the importance of small classes, individual study, and community educational programs aimed at the cultivation of taste and the orientation of individuals has become vital.<sup>1</sup> The central problem in popular education to-day is the development in individuals of intellectual interests, social sympathy and critical taste, the ability to select in the face of conflicting claims those things that one really wants and that one will really enjoy. The educational problem has shifted from a concern about the "distribution" of knowledge to a concern about its "consumption"—from interest in mass *instruction* to interest in individual and community *education*. As the processes of mass culture are multiplied, the need for attention to the development of individual habits and tastes becomes accentuated.

In line with these considerations the reader is asked to give his attention to a consideration of factors which enter into formation of different types of selective response to present-day opportunities for play, study, social life and esthetic enjoyment—as revealed through a study of spare time interests and through answers to specific questions regarding the use of popular educational facilities, such as museums and libraries. "Metropolitan culture" will be studied from the standpoint of the develop-

<sup>1</sup> The Eightieth Annual Report of the Cleveland Board of Education, Division of Adult Education, came to the Brooklyn Conference after the above paragraph had been dictated but before it had been typed. The following sentence is taken from the Introduction to this report: "The Division of Adult Education of this Board is not interested in mass education, but rather in quality of the educational process."

The decline of the popular Leipziger lectures formerly conducted by the New York City Board of Education affords a notable negative instance of the point at issue. Unfortunately, the Board of Education of New York City has not yet given its attention to the construction of an appropriate positive program.

The comments elicited from the Conference social problems questionnaire (see Chapter VII) tend in the same direction.

ment of individual interests in relation to the social and institutional influences in a metropolitan area.

The term "culture," as here used, refers to the communication of ideas, fashions, and ways of living (especially as regards other than technical, industrial and commercial processes), and the response of individuals to such influences. It does not in itself carry any distinction of value. There are good, bad and indifferent cultural influences. There are various principles by which cultures may be judged. There is the social criterion, the selection of certain elements as worthy of emphasis by public opinion, by educational authorities, by the state, etc. There is the individual, hedonistic criterion: Which elements really bring the greatest happiness in individual experience? There are two somewhat more objective criteria which will be used frequently in the course of this chapter as measures of individual excellence, (1) range and variety of leisure-time interests and activities, and (2) especially, the number and intensity of leisure-time interests that involve or lead to difficult thinking.

#### EDUCATION AND LEISURE-TIME INTERESTS

It has already been shown, in the second chapter, that the degree of regular academic education profoundly influences the range of leisure-time activities, especially as regards activities that have a high intellectual content. It was also shown in this connection that people who have taken commercial or trade courses as adults have more serious reading interests than others who have had the same degree of formal education without having taken adult courses, but that little or no difference is apparent as regards artistic interests and activities. It was, however, clearly shown that on all educational levels the



taking of adult cultural studies is definitely related to a greater frequency of free time interests of an intellectual character.

In a later chapter it will be shown that membership in community organizations and clubs having educational programs is also correlated with a more critical selection of free time pursuits. Schools and informal educational influences are basic factors, after innate intellectual endowment, in the determination of individual responses to different opportunities for work, play and study. It is probably true that next to home environment, juvenile schools are the most important institutions in the formation of individual character and tastes. The importance of progressive educational methods with children is overshadowed by no other need. At the same time it must be recognized that community organizations in contact with adults may powerfully affect home environment and the degree of parental coöperation with schools, and thus indirectly minister to juvenile welfare. And schools for adults and community educational centers for adults may further contribute to the development of adult character and tastes, the making of adult minds.

In short, the moral to be drawn from the study of personal habits as regards current instruments of mass culture will frequently emphasize the importance of directly improving these cultural agencies, but a more basic need, running through the whole series of pictures to be presented in the following pages, is the vital rôle of schools and community organizations concerned with the development of individual minds.



NEWSPAPER HABITS OF THE ADULT POPULATION OF  
BROOKLYN

Guessing "the most important influence" in the formation of attitudes and public opinion in America is a pleasant game because one can never be proved wrong. Without yielding to this temptation it is safe to say that, in spite of newer instruments of mass culture, the press continues to exercise tremendous influence. New York City has a group of newspapers of unusually high quality.

Most of the Brooklyn papers also maintain a very good standard of general news service, in addition to features of local interest. None of the important Brooklyn papers are of a highly sensational character. Many of the readers of Brooklyn papers also usually read one or more of the New York dailies. Six of the metropolitan papers are thrown together in the following analysis, the *Herald-Tribune*, *Post*, *Telegram*, *Times*, *Sun* and *World*.<sup>\*</sup> Two organs of the Hearst Publishing Company, the *New York American* and the *Evening Journal*, are given separate grouping as having distinctive character. The Brooklyn papers constitute another group. The tabloids and the foreign language press are also given separate classification.

The figures will be to some extent excessively complimentary to the metropolitan population because in replying to such a question people naturally put the best paper forward and because our total sample is weighed with adult students and others especially interested in education.

<sup>\*</sup> The data were compiled before the sale of *The World*, and are presented as compiled.

TABLE IX.

FREQUENT USE OF NEWSPAPERS AND TYPES PREFERRED BY PERSONS OF  
DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND OCCUPATIONS \*

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | LEVEL OF<br>FORMAL EDUCATION                                   | PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS<br>CHECKING "NEWSPAPERS"<br>AMONG LEISURE-TIME<br>ACTIVITIES | PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF<br>PREFERENCES STATED BY<br>EACH CLASS |                 |                                      |               |                    |                                        |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------------------------|
|                         |                                                                |                                                                                    | Herald-Tribune,<br>Times, Telegram,<br>Post, Sun, World           | Brooklyn papers | New York American<br>Evening Journal | Tabloids only | Foreign lang. only | Miscellaneous or<br>type not specified |
| 4,347                   | All levels ** .....                                            | 87                                                                                 | 63                                                                | 19              | 21                                   | 9             | 1                  | 11                                     |
| 1,634                   | Elem. school only ..                                           | 84                                                                                 | 34                                                                | 16              | 29                                   | 19            | 3                  | 20                                     |
| 1,097                   | Some high school or<br>vocational education                    | 88                                                                                 | 64                                                                | 23              | 25                                   | 6             | 0                  | 8                                      |
| 1,266                   | High school graduates                                          | 90                                                                                 | 84                                                                | 18              | 14                                   | 1             | 0                  | 7                                      |
| 350                     | College graduates ...                                          | 90                                                                                 | 93                                                                | 24              | 3                                    | 0             | 0                  | 5                                      |
|                         | OCCUPATIONAL CLASS                                             |                                                                                    |                                                                   |                 |                                      |               |                    |                                        |
|                         | <i>Men †</i>                                                   |                                                                                    |                                                                   |                 |                                      |               |                    |                                        |
| 99                      | Unskilled workers ..                                           | 89                                                                                 | 25                                                                | 10              | 27                                   | 20            | 8                  |                                        |
| 200                     | Semi-skilled workers ‡                                         | 91                                                                                 | 31                                                                | 21              | 27                                   | 22            | 2                  |                                        |
| 200                     | Skilled workers ‡ ...                                          | 94                                                                                 | 48                                                                | 22              | 35                                   | 10            | 0                  |                                        |
| 200                     | Clerical workers ‡ ..                                          | 92                                                                                 | 75                                                                | 17              | 27                                   | 3             | 0                  |                                        |
| 150                     | Business administra-<br>tors .....                             | 97                                                                                 | 75                                                                | 23              | 11                                   | 3             | 1                  |                                        |
| 100                     | Professional workers.                                          | 97                                                                                 | 82                                                                | 40              | 6                                    | 1             | 0                  |                                        |
|                         | <i>Women †</i>                                                 |                                                                                    |                                                                   |                 |                                      |               |                    |                                        |
| 100                     | Industrial workers ..                                          | 93                                                                                 | 22                                                                | 16              | 34                                   | 30            | 2                  |                                        |
| 85                      | Saleswomen ‡ .....                                             | 88                                                                                 | 53                                                                | 37              | 29                                   | 5             | 0                  |                                        |
| 200                     | Clerical workers ‡ ..                                          | 86                                                                                 | 74                                                                | 28              | 9                                    | 6             | 0                  |                                        |
| 80                      | Teachers .....                                                 | 87                                                                                 | 91                                                                | 29              | 0                                    | 0             | 0                  |                                        |
| 133                     | Business administra-<br>tors and professional<br>workers ..... | 94                                                                                 | 86                                                                | 29              | 3                                    | 0             | 0                  |                                        |
| 300                     | Homemakers .....                                               | 88                                                                                 | 50                                                                | 30              | 22                                   | 4             | 0                  |                                        |

\* Of the 4,347 persons classified in educational levels, 3,343, or 77% of the entire sample, stated their newspaper preferences. 450 others, or 10% of the entire sample, checked "newspapers" as a leisure-time activity but did not report preferences. The numbers of persons used as a basis for computing preferences on the four educational levels were, respectively, 1,131, 856, 1,057, and 299. Percentages overlap, so that the sum of percentages of any group does not equal 100%.

\*\* It was necessary to omit 292 questionnaires from this tabulation because they contained no statement of formal education.

† Not including any reached through adult education institutions.

‡ Selected at random from total number of persons of this occupational group.

The use of Brooklyn papers is fairly uniform in all classes but rises slightly on the higher educational levels. However, there is more overlapping on these levels. Thus four out of five college graduates read one of the group of six New York dailies, and nearly one in five (19%) usually reads a Brooklyn paper in addition, whereas less than 2 per cent of this class report exclusive reliance on local newspapers. On the other hand, among persons of elementary schooling just 4 per cent report the use both of one of "the six" and a Brooklyn paper, and another 4 per cent report exclusive use of Brooklyn papers.<sup>2</sup> Disregarding overlapping, 16 per cent of persons of elementary schooling only among our respondents say frankly that they don't read newspapers. Only 34 per cent of those reporting preferences read one of the group of six New York papers, and only 16 per cent usually read Brooklyn papers. Nineteen per cent report tabloids only, whereas only 3 per cent read foreign language papers exclusively so far as our records show. Many perhaps have been agitated about the foreign language press, but it would appear that these sheets exercise a much less pervasive influence than sensational papers, printed in English, but with little intellectual content. Among the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, there are twice as many who report that they fill their minds daily with tabloid sensations but no other news as there are those who frequently read any one of the six standard New York newspapers. The quality of New York and Brooklyn papers drives many inferior sheets to the wall, but they cannot overcome what Tolstoi characterized as "the power of darkness." More fundamental and intimate educational processes must be relied upon in that issue.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are not included in the table.



## RADIO PREFERENCES

In some quarters, the radio has been hailed as a remarkable panacea for ignorance and indifference. Undoubtedly it has important educational usages which have not as yet been well developed, but the check-up on its significance to date does not fulfill the first hopes of the enthusiasts for radio education.

Aside from difficulties relating to problems of control, the outstanding difficulties of the radio as an educational instrument are the peculiarly passive situation of the audience, the fact that attention must be held from moment to moment even more than in a popular motion picture production, and the prevalent attitude of regarding the radio as a toy used to furnish a stream of easy amusement in lonely hours or in social situations where conversation lags. The radio preferences of various persons in various educational levels and in several types of occupation may be studied in the table on opposite page.

The high percentage interested in radio on all educational levels and in all occupations is the first striking feature of this table—the percentage, however, is lower among those reporting only elementary schooling. The second outstanding fact is that, for the total sample, entertainment features constitute 87 per cent of radio preferences. People seek entertainment on the radio and, above all, musical entertainment.

The metropolitan public, however, would apparently prefer somewhat higher forms of music than it commonly receives. Here discount must be made for bluff. And the Conference field workers and office staff gave a very liberal interpretation to the term “classical music.” Nevertheless, the staff were very much impressed with



TABLE X

ENJOYMENT OF RADIO AS A FREQUENT LEISURE-TIME INTEREST AND TYPES OF PROGRAM PREPARED BY PERSONS OF DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND OCCUPATIONS \*

| NUMBER OF PERSONS  | LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION                              | PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS CHECKING "RADIO" AMONG LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES | PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERENCES STATED BY EACH CLASS |             |                  |         |          |       |           |        |                |                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|---------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------------|----------------|
|                    |                                                        |                                                                      | Music, not specified or both jazz and classical             | Music, jazz | Music, classical | Stories | Sketches | Plays | Religious | Sports | Current events | Talks, general |
| 4,347              | All levels **                                          | 73                                                                   | 19                                                          | 9           | 35               | 6       | 11       | 4     | 1         | 3      | 2              | 10             |
| 1,634              | Elementary school only .....                           | 65                                                                   | 22                                                          | 12          | 25               | 10      | 12       | 3     | 2         | 3      | 2              | 9              |
| 1,097              | Some high school or vocational education .....         | 81                                                                   | 19                                                          | 9           | 31               | 8       | 12       | 5     | 1         | 3      | 2              | 10             |
| 1,266              | High school graduates .....                            | 76                                                                   | 18                                                          | 9           | 42               | 3       | 9        | 5     | 1         | 1      | 2              | 10             |
| 350                | College graduates .....                                | 75                                                                   | 15                                                          | 5           | 52               | 1       | 10       | 3     | 1         | 1      | 4              | 8              |
| OCCUPATIONAL CLASS |                                                        |                                                                      |                                                             |             |                  |         |          |       |           |        |                |                |
| <i>Men †</i>       |                                                        |                                                                      |                                                             |             |                  |         |          |       |           |        |                |                |
| 99                 | Unskilled workers .....                                | 59                                                                   | 33                                                          | 15          | 18               | 4       | 11       | 7     | 4         | 4      | 0              | 4              |
| 200                | Semi-skilled workers ‡ .....                           | 69                                                                   | 16                                                          | 17          | 26               | 8       | 13       | 4     | 4         | 1      | 1              | 10             |
| 200                | Skilled workers ‡ .....                                | 87                                                                   | 21                                                          | 8           | 21               | 11      | 14       | 5     | 2         | 6      | 3              | 9              |
| 200                | Clerical workers ‡ .....                               | 80                                                                   | 20                                                          | 9           | 26               | 7       | 14       | 5     | 1         | 5      | 2              | 11             |
| 150                | Business administrators .....                          | 89                                                                   | 28                                                          | 7           | 31               | 1       | 10       | 3     | 2         | 2      | 3              | 13             |
| 100                | Professional workers .....                             | 81                                                                   | 14                                                          | 7           | 44               | 4       | 10       | 5     | 1         | 1      | 2              | 12             |
| <i>Women †</i>     |                                                        |                                                                      |                                                             |             |                  |         |          |       |           |        |                |                |
| 100                | Industrial workers .....                               | 77                                                                   | 12                                                          | 29          | 19               | 19      | 8        | 2     | 2         | 0      | 1              | 8              |
| 85                 | Saleswomen ‡ .....                                     | 85                                                                   | 23                                                          | 6           | 37               | 9       | 2        | 6     | 1         | 0      | 1              | 15             |
| 200                | Clerical workers ‡ .....                               | 80                                                                   | 17                                                          | 14          | 33               | 8       | 12       | 5     | 0         | 1      | 6              | 4              |
| 80                 | Teachers .....                                         | 67                                                                   | 23                                                          | 2           | 42               | 0       | 10       | 7     | 0         | 0      | 2              | 14             |
| 133                | Business administrators and professional workers ..... | 71                                                                   | 19                                                          | 5           | 45               | 4       | 7        | 4     | 2         | 0      | 4              | 9              |
| 300                | Homemakers .....                                       | 71                                                                   | 22                                                          | 6           | 29               | 8       | 7        | 2     | 2         | 1      | 5              | 18             |

\* Of the 4,347 persons classified in educational levels, 2,152, or 50% of the entire sample, stated radio preferences. 1,021 others, or 23% of the entire sample, checked "radio" as a leisure-time activity but did not designate favorite programs. The numbers of persons whose preferences were analyzed on the four educational levels were, respectively, 681, 608, 688, and 175. When several preferences were reported, only the first two were used in this analysis.

\*\* It was necessary to omit 292 questionnaires from this tabulation because they contained no statement of formal education. † Not including any reached through adult education institutions.

‡ Selected at random from total number of persons of this occupational group.

the frequency of obviously genuine protests against the excessive quantities of commonplace jazz sent over the waves; and this impression is confirmed by the overwhelming percentage of people who state a preference for classical music among those who specify what kind of radio music they like the best. It is not impossible that the superiority of the popular tastes here recorded to prevailing impressions of what "the people" want may be due in part to the fact that the radio has made it easy for many people to hear really good music to-day who previously gained their impression of Beethoven and Bach from amateur musical recitals where pride and tradition dictated a type of program above the artistic level of the performers. However this may be, it would seem that there is a very considerable popular demand for "good music," including, of course, "good jazz" and variety features, as well as symphonic, choral and chamber music.

After a warning against excessive expectation, three constructive suggestions may be offered regarding radio education.

The radio may be of considerable value in broadcasting elementary principles of hygiene and child nurture and perhaps other items of domestic science. The audience which it is most important to reach in this case is available at hours when competition is low. Moreover, interest here is spontaneous and widespread. This thesis is confirmed by the fact that the questionnaires on parental education were the only ones that yielded any considerable evidence of the educational use of radio.

The radio has already become established as an important campaign instrument. Here it is undoubtedly of great educational significance, because here again it is related to vital, widespread interests which it further

heightens and renders more significant. There is reason to believe that if the Brooklyn Conference inquiries had been made during the period of a major political campaign, the percentage reporting a great interest in talks over the radio would have been much higher. Everybody likes to participate in contests. Newspapers characteristically exploit conflicts, and frequently represent lively partisan viewpoints. The directors of radio policy have been more eager to avoid offense, and, conscious of monopoly, have thought of their mission as the broadcasting of a flat, uniform, national culture, in which so-called educational features become peculiarly dull. The radio has great possibilities for the public exposition of policies and quick interchange of opinions on issues which are sufficiently dramatic to challenge public attention. It should be developed as a national forum.

In the third place, there are great possibilities in linking up radio programs with institutional agencies that work up and insure the basis of interest and attention. A few illustrations, from without Brooklyn however, may be cited. The Foreign Policy Association has not only aroused interest among its members and other interested persons in the broadcast programs of its luncheon discussions, but has developed a system of local and long distance telephone questions addressed to and answered by speakers at the luncheon. Thus the radio audience is enabled to participate in the discussion. The Albright Art Gallery of Buffalo worked out a scheme of arranging for the reproduction of museum pictures in the Sunday newspaper rotogravure sections and then broadcasting lectures on these pictures Sunday afternoons, to be enjoyed while the listeners study the pictures in their newspapers. The educational programs broadcast by many of the Western state universities, or sponsored by Farm Bureau or



Home Bureau organizations, have similar institutional status.

The radio has unusual possibilities, but these are complementary to rather than supplementary for more fundamental and intimate institutional and personal types of education.

#### READING HABITS AND LIBRARIES

It is perhaps regrettable that a majority of persons do not commonly read anything that falls under the headings Economics and Politics, Philosophy and Religion, or Science, but it is scarcely surprising. In fact, when it appears that 43 per cent of the total sample do frequently dip into such fields of reading, we may be pleasantly surprised—even though half of the returns are derived from various adult student groups; and perhaps we may be still more surprised that each type of serious reading claims the attention of about one in ten among those persons in the total sample who have had only elementary school education. An analysis of the kinds of reading indulged in by persons in various educational levels is presented in tabular form.

When one imaginatively grasps the significance of written words in the cultural life of any civilization, the promotion of spontaneous reading interests looms in importance as one of the most potent means of educational service. Such literary stimulation is commonly supposed to be a function of the public library. Some librarians very consciously seek to carry out programs that will have this effect. For example, one Brooklyn branch librarian, in an Italian neighborhood, arranged a display in the library of lace made by women of the district. Italian paintings were borrowed from the Brooklyn Museum for



the occasion. An Italian play was presented. The house was crowded. It was a festival. And the result of this introduction of neighborhood women to the library was an immediate and effective increase in library patronage. Such community programs are highly commendable, but they necessarily tend to be exceptional.

TABLE XI

READING HABITS OF 4,347 PERSONS ON FOUR LEVELS OF FORMAL EDUCATION. PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS ON EACH LEVEL REPORTING PREFERENCES FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF READING

| TYPE OF READING                                 | ALL<br>EDUCATIONAL<br>LEVELS | ELEMEN-<br>TARY<br>ONLY | ELEMENTARY<br>PLUS SOME<br>VOCATIONAL<br>OR H. S. | HIGH<br>SCHOOL<br>GRADUATE | COLLEGE<br>GRADUATE |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
|                                                 | (4,347<br>persons)           | (1,634<br>persons)      | (1,097<br>persons)                                | (1,266<br>persons)         | (350<br>persons)    |
|                                                 | Per cent                     | Per cent                | Per cent                                          | Per cent                   | Per cent            |
| Fiction .....                                   | 57                           | 38                      | 60                                                | 72                         | 69                  |
| Trade .....                                     | 21                           | 12                      | 21                                                | 25                         | 42                  |
| Mechanics, etc. ....                            | 10                           | 12                      | 22                                                | 12                         | 10                  |
| Styles, housekeeping, etc.                      | 14                           | 12                      | 13                                                | 18                         | 11                  |
| Literary magazines ....                         | 28                           | 12                      | 30                                                | 35                         | 48                  |
| History, biography, etc.                        | 29                           | 16                      | 29                                                | 31                         | 55                  |
| <i>None of the above three<br/>groups</i> ..... | 51                           | 70                      | 48                                                | 35                         | 27                  |
| Philosophy, religion, etc.                      | 29                           | 9                       | 19                                                | 32                         | 42                  |
| Politics, economics, etc.                       | 19                           | 9                       | 17                                                | 31                         | 38                  |
| Science .....                                   | 25                           | 12                      | 30                                                | 35                         | 39                  |
| <i>None of the above three<br/>groups</i> ..... | 57                           | 79                      | 55                                                | 39                         | 30                  |

To what extent does the library through its very presence and everyday service create new readers and stimulate new intellectual interests among adults in Brooklyn? Or to what extent does it merely minister to those who have well formulated needs, often in relation to specific academic or vocational tasks? We cannot answer these questions.

It is quite possible that bookstores and rental libraries, being alert to modern methods of display and sensitive to popular tastes, do as much or more in the direction of stimulating interest in books as do the public libraries. The rental libraries apparently serve very much the same public, as regards educational levels, that the free libraries do—although it is, as yet, a much smaller public. The percentage of those who use each type rises at about the same rate with advance in educational level:

TABLE XII  
USE OF FREE AND RENTAL LIBRARIES

|                                                                   | TOTAL<br>SAMPLE | PERSONS<br>OF ELE-<br>MENTARY<br>SCHOOL-<br>ING ONLY | PERSONS<br>OF SOME<br>HIGH OR<br>VOCAT'L<br>SCHOOLING | HIGH<br>SCHOOL<br>GRADU-<br>ATES | COLLEGE<br>GRADU-<br>ATES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Percentage of persons using<br><i>free</i> libraries frequently   | 37              | 15                                                   | 33                                                    | 54                               | 57                        |
| Percentage of persons using<br><i>rental</i> libraries frequently | 8               | 3                                                    | 10                                                    | 11                               | 13                        |

Moreover, except for a larger percentage of business administrators among rental library patrons and a slightly larger percentage of manual workers among persons who frequent free libraries, the comparison is surprisingly similar for the two types of patrons, as shown below:

Even an analysis of types of reading reveals no large significant differences between persons who commonly find it worth the money difference to turn to commercial libraries for reading material in contrast to those who rely on the public libraries. For example, 73 per cent of those who use public libraries or other free libraries frequently check fiction, and 80 per cent of the frequenters of rental libraries do likewise. In the case of non-fiction the balance is slightly reversed. The percentages of pub-

lic library users who report commonly reading history, philosophy and religion, politics and economics, and science are 44 per cent, 34 per cent, 31 per cent, 37 per cent—in comparison with 40 per cent, 26 per cent, 26 per cent, and 29 per cent for users of rental libraries. The differences are consistent but not large.

TABLE XIII

A COMPARISON OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENT USERS OF FREE LIBRARIES AND FREQUENT USERS OF RENTAL LIBRARIES, AMONG 4,639 PERSONS COMPRISING TOTAL SAMPLE OF MAIN CONFERENCE QUESTIONNAIRES

| OCCUPATIONAL CLASS *                  | FREQUENT USERS<br>OF FREE<br>LIBRARIES<br>(1,458 persons) | FREQUENT USERS<br>OF RENTAL<br>LIBRARIES<br>(362 persons) |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
|                                       | Per cent                                                  | Per cent                                                  |
| All workers .....                     | 100                                                       | 100                                                       |
| Unskilled workers .....               | 5                                                         | 4                                                         |
| Small shopkeepers .....               | 0                                                         | 1                                                         |
| Semi-skilled workers .....            | 10                                                        | 8                                                         |
| Skilled workers .....                 | 8                                                         | 5                                                         |
| Clerical workers .....                | 41                                                        | 41                                                        |
| Foremen and supervisors .....         | 1                                                         | 2                                                         |
| Business administrators .....         | 9                                                         | 15                                                        |
| Professional workers .....            | 20                                                        | 18                                                        |
| Homemakers (not otherwise classified) | 4                                                         | 4                                                         |
| Miscellaneous, retired, etc. ....     | 2                                                         | 2                                                         |

\* Homemakers are included in occupational group of person earning family income.

Apparently the clientele of free libraries and that of the rental libraries have substantially the same interests, but people who can afford it tend to patronize the latter for books to read for pleasure and utilize the former largely for reference purposes.

This tendency appears constantly in comments on public libraries, volunteered by persons answering the Conference questionnaire. Its expression alternates with

the plea for new neighborhood branches. A few of these comments, chosen more or less at random, run as follows:

Very useful to me in engineering work.—Marine engineer.  
My business does not require the use of libraries.—Contractor.  
Need library in vicinity, have to travel too far.—City surveyor.  
Not now. Can't get books I want. Pratt Institute Free Library is better.—Former librarian.

Medical library frequently, others rarely. Not enough help or books—people underpaid. I own books. . . .—Physician.  
Branch libraries insufficiently stocked, Central Library O.K.—Clerk.

Too far to nearest library.—Homemaker.

For reference purposes and short stories for telling to scouts.—Boy Scout leader.

Only in connection with my work.—Police sergeant.

For Greek reference and Bible history.—Minister.

I have always found these institutions valuable.—Law clerk.

Have used libraries but little since moving to new neighborhood; no library in this section.—Assistant to forelady.

Very little material on operas in library branch, which is quite large, where attempt was made to get this.—Secretary.

Used libraries before coming over to Brooklyn. No library easily available in new location. Every community should certainly have a library.—Homemaker.

Used libraries more freely when in location where library was nearer. Also, partly, lack of time.—Homemaker.

Such comments represent recurrent public attitudes and needs in this locality. From the standpoint of the library administration these needs are echoed in the following plea:

"The Borough of Brooklyn increases in population with phenomenal rapidity. Large areas of crowded districts are without any library-service, in spite of numerous petitions received from community-organizations. Lack of funds to carry on established Branches is our



warrant for not undertaking new activities, however sorely needed. Our bookstock is worn out generally. A circulation of over six million, with less than a million volumes, indicates wear and tear beyond the power of current funds to meet. \$150,000 is a most conservative estimate of our needs simply to replace worn-out books which are in constant demand. Our budget-request for thirty-two new positions was denied. With diminishing book-stock and inadequate staff, the Library necessarily renders service far from satisfactory, when measured by the ideal the Trustees have for it.”<sup>3</sup>

The situation is obviously of the type euphemistically referred to as “administrative economy.”

The evidence collected in this study proves that indoctrinating children with the library idea will not solve the problem. At the suggestion of public library administration all persons interviewed were asked, “Were you helped or encouraged by teachers to form the habit of using libraries?” The alternative answers were, “No, so far as I remember,” and “Yes.” A large percentage of the replies were decisively in the affirmative. In about 12 per cent of the cases the question was regarded as irrelevant, for example, in interviewing persons from foreign countries. Of the remaining 3,774 persons, 2,692 answered in the affirmative. Evidently the teachers are alert in this regard. Incidentally, 68 per cent of 80 women teachers who supplied data for the study, usually anonymously, declare themselves frequent users of “public or other free libraries,” and another 31 per cent say they use them occasionally; one lone teacher answered “No” to this question. But even among people who say that they do not now use the library a majority remember the influence of teachers as positively exerted in the development

<sup>3</sup> Brooklyn Public Library, *Thirty-first Annual Report*, 1928, p. 11.

of library habits. Many remark that they formerly used libraries but do not now.

Free libraries, however, have a strong hold on the whole adult population, as revealed by a detailed analysis of the answers given on the schedules of persons in various occupations selected at random from the total number in each group.

TABLE XIV

USE OF PUBLIC OR OTHER FREE LIBRARIES BY PERSONS IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

| OCCUPATIONAL GROUP                                            | NO USE<br>OF<br>LIBRARY | OCCA-<br>SIONAL<br>USE | FREQUENT<br>USE |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
|                                                               | Per cent                | Per cent               | Per cent        |
| MEN                                                           |                         |                        |                 |
| 99 Unskilled workers .....                                    | 60                      | 27                     | 13              |
| 200 Semi-skilled workers .....                                | 46                      | 38                     | 16              |
| 200 Skilled workers .....                                     | 35                      | 45                     | 20              |
| 200 Clerical workers .....                                    | 15                      | 53                     | 32              |
| 150 Policemen .....                                           | 19                      | 67                     | 14              |
| 150 Business administrators .....                             | 22                      | 48                     | 30              |
| 100 Professional workers .....                                | 14                      | 48                     | 38              |
| WOMEN                                                         |                         |                        |                 |
| 100 Industrial workers .....                                  | 45                      | 41                     | 14              |
| 85 Saleswomen .....                                           | 43                      | 34                     | 23              |
| 200 Clerical workers .....                                    | 17                      | 44                     | 39              |
| 80 Teachers .....                                             | 1                       | 31                     | 68              |
| 133 Business administrators and<br>professional workers ..... | 15                      | 35                     | 50              |
| 300 Homemakers .....                                          | 49                      | 27                     | 24              |

Free libraries are the primary institutions of adult education. A liberal and progressive municipal library policy is one of the best criteria of intelligent city administration. The test, however, is not complimentary to the area studied—except as regards the central New York Public Library and private, institutional libraries, notably in Brooklyn, the Pratt Institute Free Library.

The Brooklyn Public Library system is having difficulty in rendering effective standard service to Brooklyn communities, because of lack of funds, and the larger educational possibilities of community libraries suffer even more seriously.

#### THE FORMATION OF ACTIVE ARTISTIC INTERESTS

Information regarding the formation of active artistic interests (as opposed to merely passive esthetic appreciation) was collected on a special form from five different groups, as follows:

|                                          |       |
|------------------------------------------|-------|
| The Neighborhood Players .....           | 10    |
| Brooklyn Society of Artists .....        | 13    |
| Commercial artists, Brooklyn stores..... | 7     |
| Brooklyn Music School Settlement .....   | 10    |
| Brooklyn Institute art classes .....     | 10    |
|                                          | <hr/> |
|                                          | 50    |

Twenty-nine out of the fifty reported that their interest was awakened in early childhood, and 6 others said that it was developed in the high school period. In only 9 cases was interest reported as developing after school years.<sup>4</sup> The character of early formative influences is indicated by such remarks as these:

"From childhood my attention was constantly called to beauty by my father who was an artist. At school, Packer Institute, the many reproductions, on the walls, of the works of the Old Masters stimulated my sense of beauty. Too much cannot be said of the importance of this influence."

"At the age of four I was given a small part in a play and enjoyed it immensely. After that my dad made me a toy theater which I played with. I saw as many shows as possible—good, bad and worse—read hundreds of plays, acted in high

<sup>4</sup> Answers to this question were lacking or ambiguous in 4 cases. Original interest in art was ascribed to college years in 2 instances.



school and college, then joined the Brooklyn Neighborhood Players and stayed because I liked the group."

Among the 13 artists in the Brooklyn Society, 10 dated the origin of their interest to early childhood, and only one reported a sudden awakening of artistic zeal in adult life. However, three of the Neighborhood Players said that their serious interest in dramatics was developed after leaving school or college, and in at least two of these cases largely through the direct influence of this little theater group.

The evidence points clearly toward early childhood as the normal period of original artistic arousal, at least, so far as interest leading to creative ability is concerned. It is possible but not at all certain that the results might have been very different if the information had been primarily elicited from devoted worshipers and critics of art. Adult education in art, and probably also in natural science, may be thought of as usually supplementary to early education, in the stimulation of interests already formed, the cultivation of mature criticism and interpretation and the transfer of limited interests to related fields of experience. In exceptional cases, however, quite new artistic interests of a vital sort may be awakened in adults in whom at best these interests were altogether dormant previously. This probably happens most frequently through close contact with small study groups or personal friends; perhaps less commonly through the influence of reading or objects of art.

A majority (34 out of 50) of those reporting serious artistic interests had taken art courses (including music and dramatics) in special art schools or institutes, but 20 of these replies were collected through schools. Special work in colleges or universities was also reported by 11



persons, study under private teachers by 7, and systematic independent study by 9.

The question regarding most important formative influences evolved an interesting variety of answers, which may be classified as follows: home, 18; schools, 13; friends, 8; church, 3; clubs or other informational educational organizations, 5; impersonal influences such as nature exhibits, concerts, drama and reading, 10.

The large number in the last category is interesting. Frankly, the author of the questionnaire had framed the questions with the purpose of collecting information regarding social influences. The unexpectedly large percentage who ascribe artistic awakening to nature and artistic productions is highly suggestive. Evidently natural and artificial beauty has not ceased to-day to evoke in sensitive souls the response of intellectual love and creative adventure. Some of the remarks descriptive of such influences are worthy of quotation. All of these selections are taken from answers given by members of the Brooklyn Society of Artists.

"The sight of pictures made me want to do it. None of the things mentioned (home, school, friends, church, clubs, institutions) influenced me at all as I can remember.

"In our home we had two colored prints, the only colored pictures we had, and I know these pictures influenced me and inspired me greatly when a child of 8 to 12 years old, and drawing with pencil or watercolors then became my chief pleasure."

"My influence was my first trip to Europe. I stayed five weeks in Florence, Italy, and became enthralled with the original drawings, especially those of Leonardo. I looked at them so much that I must have taken in how to draw. I began to draw when I got home in December and got a teacher in January for two nights a week."

"Nature, outdoor life, camping, angling, exploring—they caused me to express myself in several arts and professions."

Practically, this suggests the spiritual significance of esthetic architecture, playgrounds, parks, drama and music. It provides an interesting introduction to the discussion of museums.

### MUSEUMS

Museums serve two complementary but quite different functions. In the first place, they are "museums," in the popular sense, repositories of rare, significant or beautiful objects on exhibition to the public and available for research purposes to students with special interests. In the second place, they are, or may be, educational institutions of very great value.

The Brooklyn Children's Museum is an instance of a museum in which the educational emphasis is very obviously central. This is indicated not only by the extensive use of educational motion pictures, lectures, and so forth, but by the whole arrangement of the museum. In spite of the fact that the museum covers all historical, artistic and natural subjects, the material has been so well sorted and arranged that a child is fascinated and educational values are well preserved both for children and adults. The Conference director has learned more natural history in a few visits to the Children's Museum than in an equal number of visits either to the Smithsonian or Agassiz museums, simply because, not being a specialist in these subjects, he emerges with a clearer set of ideas after studying a case showing a few varieties of the hawk or representatives of the principal families of snakes than after viewing a hall of a thousand birds of paradise or successive collections of reptiles from Australia, Paraguay and Equador.

The Brooklyn Botanic Garden is an institution of the

museum type in which the two functions mentioned above, the collection and exhibit of valuable materials and educational service, are nicely balanced. The Garden is a center for advanced botanical research, as, for example, an exhaustive study of the culture of beardless irises, and maintains a large and excellent botanical display. At the same time it distributes through school systems picture slides, nature exhibits, laboratory materials, and seed packets in vast quantities. Last year about 800,000 seed packets were distributed to school children—a hundred thousand homes, perhaps several hundred thousand homes, were quickened to interest in growing things, an interest shared by young and old. It is not easy to think of any other service productive of pure joy on so vast a scale. The Garden also provides for a great number of free conferences with teachers in planning nature study programs in schools.

In the field of adult education, the Garden provides both extra-mural lecture service for community organizations and a variety of classes at the Garden for research students, nature lovers and persons interested in learning the care of plants and gardens. Two Brooklyn hospitals send their nurses to the Garden for a special course on the care and use of flowers with the sick. It also maintains a library on botanical subjects available to the public. The Brooklyn Botanic Garden is obviously an institution that does not wait for people to come, although hundreds of thousand do come each year. It reaches out in educational effort through schools and community organizations.

The Brooklyn Museum recognizes three spheres of influence in its relations with the public: the education of youth; the practical assistance which can be rendered to teachers, designers and industrial workers; and its ob-



ligation to the general public. The two latter domains of the Museum's activities will be considered here.

The Museum contains extensive and unusual collections dealing with the fine arts, ethnology and natural history, which are supplemented from time to time with special exhibits. In addition there are courses of instruction for adults, several series of lectures for teachers, and general lectures on topics of immediate interest.

For example, the Educational Department of the Museum offers the following courses, of thirty lectures each, intended for teachers and Museum members, to which other interested adults are also welcomed: Decorative Arts of the World, Picture Study Talks, and a Museum Course in Art Appreciation which takes place in the galleries. These three courses are accepted for credit by the Board of Education of the City of New York and by Long Island University. An additional Museum Course in Art Appreciation is given by one of the Museum lecturers under the auspices of the College of the City of New York.

A class in drawing from the living model, conducted by a well known artist, meets every Saturday morning. Three groups of four lectures each are given by the Decorative Arts Department. This department also arranges a series of special talks for department store workers.

On Sunday afternoons at three o'clock, between October and May, there is usually a lecture by some eminent speaker. The topics are widely varied, not being confined to the special fields in which the Museum is most closely concerned. At four o'clock on Sundays during the winter season there are also organ recitals, these constituting one of the most interesting features of the Museum program. On Saturdays there are occasional gallery tours. Any club or institution may arrange for special gallery



tours, while guides are always available for groups of visitors at a small charge.<sup>5</sup> Holidays are observed by the showing of motion pictures which commemorate the day. Films used on these and other occasions are the Yale University Press Chronicles of America (a series of fifteen motion pictures depicting United States history), the Ditmars living natural history series, and certain films on the techniques of the arts.

The library of the Museum contains 23,000 books and many pamphlets. It is open every day including holidays and is at the service of individuals and institutions. A further illustration of the coöperative spirit of the Museum is provided in its educational extension service, which arranges exhibitions and activities at community centers on Long Island.

The Conference staff conducted a series of special interviews with 156 visitors to the Museum. The visitors were asked to comment on their visit, to check a list of possible reasons for coming to the Museum, and to indicate on a prepared list which exhibits they had enjoyed most. They were also asked to state length of schooling, occupation, length of time spent in the Museum, and to report any courses taken in the field of art. The interviews were held on Sunday afternoons. Persons were engaged as they were on their way out of the building. Large groups of friends and parents with several children were frequently neglected because of the difficulty of interviews under these circumstances. Many parents and children were interviewed, however. The children also were asked to complete the blanks in order to hold their attention, but these blanks were not used. Interviews

<sup>5</sup> On Mondays and Fridays only there is an admission charge (except for members of the Museum) of 25¢ for adults and 10¢ for children. On other days there is no admission fee, and many of the general activities mentioned are open to the public also without charge.

were impossible, also, with persons of foreign language. Otherwise the selection was quite at random. A special sculpture exhibition was open during the time when most of these interviews were held, as well as several minor special exhibits.

A higher percentage of professional, business and clerical people are found in this sample than the figures derived from the main conference questionnaire would lead one to expect. The occupational distribution of persons in the sample was:

|                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Artists .....                                                                     | 17  |
| Teachers .....                                                                    | 10  |
| Other professional workers and business<br>administrators .....                   | 34  |
| Clerical and salespeople .....                                                    | 33  |
| Industrial workers (all classes).....                                             | 15  |
| Homemakers (mostly from homes of busi-<br>ness, professional or clerical workers) | 26  |
| Students .....                                                                    | 21  |
| <hr/>                                                                             |     |
| Total .....                                                                       | 156 |

Twenty-five persons, among those interviewed, had never been to the museum before and came out of general curiosity. Thirty-seven persons, who also came with very general interests, had been to the Brooklyn Museum previously. Eighteen attributed the visit to the special influences of friends or teachers, including seven who were "brought" by their children. Forty-one came because of interest in the new exhibit of sculpture. Another thirty had other special interests in mind in coming to the museum, including an architectural exhibit, early American interiors, costumes, or glass, Tissot's paintings of the Life of Christ, the silver collection (visited by a retired silversmith), the organ recital, animals, astronomy, paintings (oil and watercolors, both mentioned), Oriental and commercial subjects.

From the standpoint of popular education the 25 newcomers, who entered without formulated objective, constitute a most important group. The analysis of the exhibits which they checked as having especially attracted their attention is very interesting. Oriental collections were thus designated by 11 of these twenty-five persons, Americana (interiors and costumes) by 8, natural history by 5, sculpture by 5, painting by 4. It is startling, at first, to find so many newcomers especially drawn to Chinese, Japanese or Egyptian collections in comparison with the relatively small number who found the paintings especially interesting. The explanation, however, is very simple. These collections are on the first and second floors near the side entrance, the only public entrance.<sup>6</sup> They are very extensive collections in which one might easily spend many hours. There are rare Cloisonné vases, beautiful costumes, jades, paintings, a few imperial carriages, and so forth. The newcomer may easily pass from case to case of these materials and lose himself for the afternoon, or catching himself hasten on through the Room of Fishes, the Napoleonic Collection, Oriental rugs, and the Lace Hall. If he takes the elevator to the top floor he finds the paintings.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, both the newcomers and other visitors were almost unanimous in saying that they had enjoyed themselves. Any one who visits the Brooklyn Museum may expect a pleasant time, but unless he knows in advance what he wants it is doubtful if he will emerge with many clear and distinct ideas or esthetic experiences that will live in his imagination.

<sup>6</sup> The imposing stairway leading to the main entrance is formidable to many persons. The possibility of keeping both entrances open does not seem to have been seriously entertained.

<sup>7</sup> It is the intention of the Museum administration that new visitors, on entering the building, should take the elevator to the top floor and work down, but there is no notice effectively conveying this idea to the visitors.



The problem of organizing a vast wealth of material so as to meet the requirements of research students and others having highly specialized interests and at the same time to provide digestible exhibits for purposes of popular education is a formidable one, especially in the case of a museum that includes art, ethnology, and natural history. An architectural scheme providing for central halls with a few selected exhibits of general interest and a series of alcoves for related special collections would seem to be almost essential for the best results. The organization of materials around industrial, historical and other popular interests is also a well recognized device, which becomes especially valuable when related to and used by commercial and social institutions in the community.

A visitors' consultant, invitingly stationed at a desk near the entrance, could also perform a useful function in directing individuals and stimulating their interest in various exhibits.

Some of the most valuable educational results may be gained through service that reaches beyond the walls of the museum into the life of the community. An excellent device, directed toward this end, is the provision by the People's Institute of Brooklyn, in which the Brooklyn Museum and several other museums of Greater New York coöperate generously, for the circulation of small special exhibits in branch public libraries of Brooklyn.<sup>8</sup> The educational value of presenting materials in small fairly homogeneous units is very great, so as to stimulate the development of lines of special interest. The possibilities of extra-mural museum services in the stimulation of serious class and group studies in community

<sup>8</sup> This service has been allowed to lapse during the past three years on account of limited funds but is to be revived in 1930-31.



centers is worthy of much greater attention than it has as yet received.

The extent of the popularity of art museums and the group composed of natural history museums, aquariums, and botanical gardens, as reported by persons at various educational levels and in various occupational groups, is presented in tabular form on the following page.

In museum use, as in other cultural fields, excellences in institutions of mass education, important as these may be, cannot compensate for the lack of fundamental individual and community educational work. In this connection it is significant that, exclusive of the 17 artists, 26 out of 139 Sunday afternoon visitors interviewed at the Brooklyn Museum had taken some systematic courses in art. Intensive class work, community educational programs, and extensive facilities of mass culture have complementary values.

#### THE CULTURE OF EVERYDAY LIVING

Certain phases of culture, to be sure, are selected for presentation and public discussion by newspapers, radio, libraries and museums. These are the conspicuous features of mass culture, comparable in proportion to the ten per cent of the iceberg that rises above the water. The traditional ways of "getting a living—making a home—training the young—using leisure in various forms of play, art and so on—engaging in religious practices—engaging in community activities,"<sup>9</sup> as constantly remade through the clash of varying patterns of living, and through changing personal interests constitute more fundamental community, national and international culture. The rationalization and revaluation of this everyday

<sup>9</sup> Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd: *Middletown*, p. 4.

TABLE XV

USE OF ART MUSEUMS, AND OF NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUMS, AQUARIUMS  
AND BOTANICAL GARDENS BY PERSONS IN DIFFERENT EDUCA-  
TIONAL LEVELS AND IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | LEVEL OF<br>FORMAL EDUCATION                                   | ART MUSEUMS              |                        |                      | NAT. HIST. MUSEUMS,<br>AQUARIUMS AND<br>BOTAN. GARDENS |                        |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
|                         |                                                                | No<br>Use<br>of<br>These | Occa-<br>sional<br>Use | Fre-<br>quent<br>Use | No<br>Use<br>of<br>These                               | Occa-<br>sional<br>Use | Fre-<br>quent<br>Use |
|                         |                                                                | Per cent                 |                        |                      | Per cent                                               |                        |                      |
| 1,634                   | Grammar school only..                                          | 51                       | 45                     | 4                    | 35                                                     | 56                     | 9                    |
| 1,097                   | Grammar school plus<br>some high or some vo-<br>cational ..... | 27                       | 67                     | 6                    | 14                                                     | 74                     | 12                   |
| 1,266                   | High school graduate..                                         | 13                       | 76                     | 11                   | 10                                                     | 76                     | 14                   |
| 350                     | College graduate .....                                         | 8                        | 73                     | 19                   | 6                                                      | 78                     | 16                   |
| 4,347                   | All levels * .....                                             | 30                       | 62                     | 8                    | 20                                                     | 68                     | 12                   |
|                         | OCCUPATIONAL GROUP                                             |                          |                        |                      |                                                        |                        |                      |
|                         | <i>Men †</i>                                                   |                          |                        |                      |                                                        |                        |                      |
| 99                      | Unskilled workers ....                                         | 61                       | 34                     | 5                    | 43                                                     | 52                     | 5                    |
| 200                     | Semi-skilled workers ‡.                                        | 51                       | 45                     | 4                    | 41                                                     | 53                     | 6                    |
| 200                     | Skilled workers ‡ .....                                        | 34                       | 57                     | 9                    | 26                                                     | 61                     | 13                   |
| 200                     | Clerical workers ‡ ....                                        | 24                       | 70                     | 6                    | 13                                                     | 76                     | 11                   |
| 150                     | Policemen .....                                                | 13                       | 79                     | 8                    | 9                                                      | 76                     | 15                   |
| 150                     | Business administrators                                        | 23                       | 70                     | 7                    | 15                                                     | 76                     | 9                    |
| 100                     | Professional workers ..                                        | 14                       | 72                     | 14                   | 10                                                     | 77                     | 13                   |
|                         | <i>Women †</i>                                                 |                          |                        |                      |                                                        |                        |                      |
| 100                     | Industrial workers ...                                         | 76                       | 22                     | 2                    | 41                                                     | 58                     | 1                    |
| 85                      | Saleswomen ‡ .....                                             | 29                       | 62                     | 9                    | 21                                                     | 73                     | 6                    |
| 200                     | Clerical workers .....                                         | 20                       | 74                     | 6                    | 17                                                     | 75                     | 8                    |
| 80                      | Teachers .....                                                 | 5                        | 70                     | 25                   | 4                                                      | 75                     | 21                   |
| 133                     | Business administrators<br>and professional work-<br>ers ..... | 5                        | 78                     | 17                   | 8                                                      | 77                     | 15                   |
| 300                     | Homemakers .....                                               | 39                       | 51                     | 10                   | 35                                                     | 54                     | 11                   |
| 1,997                   | All (men and women)                                            | 31                       | 61                     | 8                    | 23                                                     | 67                     | 10                   |

\* It was necessary to omit 292 questionnaires from this tabulation because they contained no statement of formal education.

† Not including any reached through adult education institutions.

‡ Selected at random from total number of persons of this occupational group.

culture is, from the social standpoint, the aim of education. The ultimate test of all cultures is made in individual experience. But the selection, presentation and emphasis of ways of living that are found in individual experience to be significant and beautiful, and the development of the critical capacity of individuals is the function of educational systems.

There are several inherent weaknesses from the educational standpoint in agencies of mass culture. There is the danger of commercialism, not always absent from institutions of "higher education," the measurement of educational progress by the size of subscription lists, box office receipts, advertising returns and tuition totals—without concern for the quality of the culture distribution, leading to the selection of "getters" rather than of educators as directors of educational institutions. Similar dangers are the exploitation of public educational systems for the profit of political organization and the opposite danger of an excessive emphasis on mere civil service machinery and an impersonal régime. These dangers inevitably beset gigantic educational and cultural enterprises. They do not negate the value of such large-scale operations but they suggest greater emphasis on small educational institutions, community organizations, and the educational adventures of informal groups.

Another inherent weakness in institutions of wholesale culture, even under the most imaginative and competent leadership, is that they cannot effectively develop individual intellectual habits, train minds, or cultivate critical capacity. For this reason, the best instruments of mass culture can only be complementary to intimate educational work in small classes and through informal agencies.

A third weakness, however, is one that may be recti-

fied by the imaginative administration of institutions such as public schools, libraries and museums, namely, the danger that such institutions become merely the vehicles of traditional sets of cultural materials divorced from the current trends of everyday living, except perhaps as regards the wealthy or educationally privileged classes.

Schools and libraries of progressive policy have already gone a long way in the selection and emphasis of the best in current modes of culture and interpretation of the significant of modern changes in contrast to an aloof insistence that people prefer the materials which the educators when children were taught by their professors to regard as correct. Neighborhood educational centers, with provision for courses in modern drama, children's reading, new dance movements and so forth, might, if imaginatively administered, play a most important rôle in the development and heightening of everyday culture in American lives.



## CHAPTER VII

### EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD

#### EXISTING PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL EDUCATION, AS SUCH

The development of fundamental personality traits is largely controlled, as society is now constituted, through the medium of the home. A few progressive schools with special facilities are able to take a considerable share of this responsibility, but even in such cases early home environment and parental coöperation remain decisive factors. In each generation, however, educational systems have an opportunity to insert new factors into the cycle of parent-child influences, especially through direct educational work with parents. In short, it is because personality is so largely determined in infancy and outside of school hours that adult education has peculiar responsibility for the development of national character.

Much valuable education in hygiene, child psychology and family relations is now being incorporated in college, high school and even elementary school training. Homemaking is given much emphasis in the continuation school program, at least, in the girl's continuation schools. Nevertheless it is obvious that, aside from basic academic and social education, education for parenthood is peculiarly an adult concern. The quickened interest and insight into the problems of parent-child relations experienced by parents, however much they may have studied hygiene and psychology in previous years,

makes the education of parents on the job especially vital.

There are a number of agencies in Brooklyn devoted entirely to the development of child study among adults and parental education. The most intensive work in this field is carried on by the Child Study Association of America. This organization was originally formed by a group of women interested in the serious study of child life, in answer to their own needs. It has now become a national agency, but is especially active in the vicinity of New York City. The association sends trained leaders to conduct systematic courses with any group sufficiently large to form an effective nucleus and able to guarantee the cost of the services of a professional leader. There are now fifteen of these study groups in Brooklyn.

The Parents' League is an organization principally made up of parents of children in Brooklyn private schools. With the coöperation of the private schools and several other organizations interested in child welfare it conducts annually an institute for parents which is open to all.

A much larger number of parents is embraced in the various Parent Associations, Parent-Teacher Associations and Kindergarten Mothers' Clubs of the public schools. Many of these local organizations are affiliated with the United Parents' Association of Greater New York. The United Parents' Association arranges for speakers, on request, for the meetings of these local organizations. The U.P.A. has recently developed an interesting experiment in lay leadership for child study groups formed among members of local parent associations. The plan provides for the nomination of leaders by the parent organizations. These leaders are given a training course, under the auspices of the U.P.A., and are sent

back as discussion leaders for the specially formed local child study groups. The Brooklyn Public Library, asked to supply loan collections for the use of these groups, has agreed to furnish about one-half of the books requested.

The whole experiment is highly interesting, but it is too soon yet to judge of its effectiveness. Without in any way prejudging the plan it may be recognized, however, that it was initiated as an attempt to avoid the expense of professional leadership, in the absence of any adequate public provision for adult parental education. It is at best unfortunate that the parents of public school children who would like to take serious courses in child study under professional guidance should not have the opportunity.

The Brooklyn Free Kindergarten Society played an important rôle in the original establishment of philanthropic and, later, public kindergartens in this vicinity. It now coöperates closely with the League of Mothers' Clubs, an organization composed largely of settlement clubs, and in other ways promotes child welfare and interest in parental education. Its central emphasis is placed on health education.

The Brooklyn Chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women has recently sponsored the establishment of a nursery school, in coöperation with a Brooklyn public school, designed in part as a means of parental education. An interesting feature of this nursery school is that each mother who sends her small child to the school is expected to assist in the conduct of the school at least one-half day each week. In this way she is given the opportunity to participate in the care of a group of children, including her own child, in accordance with nursery school practices and under professional guidance. The



assistance thus rendered helps incidentally to reduce the operating expenses of the project.

Programs of parental education are also sponsored by a number of different community centers, churches, and institutional synagogues. Many social service agencies also carry on educational work in child hygiene and related subjects. Other organizations primarily of a social service character may also be thought of as agencies for parental education. This is conspicuously true in the case of the Baby Health Stations, maintained by the Department of Health, and hospital clinics. The work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is also in large part of an educational character.

Present provisions for systematic child study by adults are, however, pitifully meager when measured against the needs of the whole population. Evidence as to the proportion of the women in Brooklyn who are doing systematic study of this sort comes from two entirely different sets of data which yield strikingly similar results. A simple, one-page questionnaire regarding courses taken since leaving day school, circulated among parents of public school children through six schools in widely different districts, contained an explicit question regarding membership in study groups. The 1,267 persons who replied may be taken as fairly representative of parents in Brooklyn, although the element of coöperation required for reply might tend to weight the sample with persons having a definite interest in some form of adult education. Of these 1,267 persons, 525 are women, mostly homemakers. Of these only 11 have ever been members of any group for the study of child development or parent-child relations. The data collected on the main questionnaire circulated by the Conference are equally disappointing in this regard. In the special "random sample" from 1,166 persons (744 men, 422 women), so



collected as to obviate bias in the direction of educational interests, child study courses were reported by only 2 persons, both women. Of the 3,473 other persons filling out the main Conference questionnaire 2,195 were men and 1,278 women. Some of these persons were reached through educational institutions where they are now taking adult courses, and some through non-educational meetings where the purposes of the investigation were explained and questionnaires passed out with the request that they be filled in and returned to the Conference. Others were circulated by students among their acquaintances. The bias in this group is obviously in the direction of education. Yet among these 3,473 persons just 7 women indicated adult study of child development, thus making a total of 9 out of 4,639 persons filling out the main Conference questionnaire. Of the 1,700 women in this large group, 620 were homemakers, and 7 out of the 9 women having taken part in systematic child study were homemakers. The courses reported as taken were distributed among public school parents' organizations (2), a Y.M.C.A. Mothers' Course, the Community Service League, and the Child study Association of America (2). One did not indicate where she had studied. The two women not homemakers who reported child study courses had taken them at Hunter College. Of the 9 women reporting adult study of this type 7 were high school graduates.

It is evident from these figures that the study of child development and of parent-child relations is definitely regarded as women's work in Brooklyn. The idea that fathers may also be parents is apparently not generally recognized. Although some of the fathers report that they enjoy telling stories, or reading to children, the interviewers frequently received such replies as, "I leave all

that to their mother," or "That's the mother's job." A course in euthenics given at the Central Branch, Young Men's Christian Association, represents a welcome counter-tendency in the preparation of men for their domestic responsibilities.

#### COMMONLY USED SOURCES OF PARENTAL INFORMATION

A small number of questionnaires dealing with sources of information on problems of child life and methods of caring for children and ways in which parents contribute to their children's education were collected as follows:

| SOURCE                                                                                                                                                                                           | NUMBER USED<br>FOR ANALYSIS |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| From parents present at meetings of parent organizations affiliated with the United Parents' Association .....                                                                                   | 60                          |
| From mothers coming to the Baby Health Station in the Navy Yard District (a tenement house district) ....                                                                                        | 60                          |
| From house-to-house canvass in three different sections (an Italian neighborhood, a Russian-Jewish neighborhood, and in Flatbush) .....                                                          | 60                          |
| From parents visited by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (in situations involving some sort of family difficulty, frequently among persons of considerable education) ..... | 60                          |
| From members of several Brooklyn chapters of the Child Study Association of America .....                                                                                                        | 30                          |
| From members of the Association of Kindergarten Mothers' Clubs (associated with settlements, etc.) .....                                                                                         | 20                          |
| From members of the Parents' League. (In this case the replies were returned by mail to the Conference office, so that selective factors were very high) .....                                   | 10                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <hr/> 300                   |

In addition to the child study groups of various types through which many of the parents were approached, 23 report relevant courses in colleges, universities, normal schools, or special adult schools such as the New School for Social Research or the Vassar Euthenics Institute. Such courses (usually a part of their academic or pro-

fessional training) are mentioned by 9 members of the Parent Associations (affiliated with the U.P.A.), 3 persons interviewed in house-to-house visits, 1 of the clients of the S.P.C.C., 5 members of the Child Study Association chapters, and 5 members of the Parents' League.

A much larger number refer to occasional lectures as a source of useful information for parents. One hundred and thirty-four (45 per cent) checked "radio" in this connection. It is possible that a few parents checked "radio" carelessly, just as in a few cases they listed wholly irrelevant magazines, having no specific bearing on problems of child development. In spite of this possible padding, however, it appears that many parents, or at least many mothers, find the radio to be an important instrument of parental education. A majority among the members of Parent Associations (U.P.A.) and Child Study Chapters (C.S.S.A.) checked this item. One advantage of radio education in this field is that women in the home can be reached during hours when there is less competition from other programs. Evidently, too, interest in this field is sufficiently vital and educational opportunities so meager, that many parents do tune in on child welfare programs. The names of programs were mentioned in 16 cases, although this was not required by the questionnaire. In the majority of these cases health lectures were mentioned. Three mentioned the popular psychological talks. Only two persons, however, list the radio as a source from which they have received suggestions regarding valuable books in this field. Apparently the number who are directed along lines of independent child study by radio talks is relatively small in comparison with the number who tune in.

Ten persons (out of 300) report library service as an aid in locating books on child nurture. Other sources of

TABLE XVI

TYPES OF LITERATURE HELPFUL IN UNDERSTANDING AND CARING FOR CHILDREN, AS REPORTED BY PARENTS IN CERTAIN SELECTED GROUPS

| SOURCE                                                   | TOTAL<br>NUMBER<br>OF<br>PARENTS<br>IN<br>GROUP | TYPES OF LITERATURE, WITH NUMBER OF PARENTS REPORTING EACH |                                                    |                                      |                                                                       |                                          |                    |                      |                   |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                                                          |                                                 | Books on education<br>or child psychology                  | Books on health or<br>physical care of<br>children | "Books" checked<br>but not specified | Pamphlets by N. Y. C.<br>Board of Health and<br>U. S. Children's Bur. | Company pamphlets<br>on nutrition, etc.* | Parents' magazines | Magazines on hygiene | Women's Magazines | Newspapers |
| Parents' organizations (affiliated with<br>U.P.A.) ..... | 60                                              | 19                                                         | 2                                                  | 7                                    | 0                                                                     | 0                                        | 31                 | 2                    | 9                 | 2          |
| Baby Health Station .....                                | 60                                              | 0                                                          | 11                                                 | 1                                    | 5                                                                     | 16                                       | 4                  | 0                    | 3                 | 1          |
| House-to-house canvass .....                             | 60                                              | 4                                                          | 1                                                  | 9                                    | 2                                                                     | 3                                        | 7                  | 1                    | 6                 | 0          |
| Society for Prevention of Cruelty to<br>Children .....   | 60                                              | 2                                                          | 2                                                  | 3                                    | 2                                                                     | 0                                        | 2                  | 1                    | 1                 | 8          |
| Child Study Assn. of America .....                       | 30                                              | 12                                                         | 0                                                  | 8                                    | 0                                                                     | 0                                        | 11                 | 0                    | 2                 | 4          |
| Kindergarten Mothers' Clubs .....                        | 20                                              | 5                                                          | 0                                                  | 0                                    | 0                                                                     | 0                                        | 1                  | 0                    | 7                 | 4          |
| Parents' League .....                                    | 10                                              | 6                                                          | 1                                                  | 3                                    | 1                                                                     | 0                                        | 6                  | 0                    | 0                 | 0          |
| Total .....                                              | 300                                             | 48                                                         | 17                                                 | 31                                   | 10                                                                    | 19                                       | 62                 | 4                    | 28                | 19         |

\* Company pamphlets include "baby books" issued by Nestle's Food, Mellen's Food, James A. Hearn & Son, and pamphlets by Metropolitan and Prudential insurance companies.



such aid include study courses, lectures, insurance company representatives, physicians, book reviews, advertisements and book agents.

The most popular parents' magazine is *Parents* (formerly called *Children, A Magazine for Parents*). The *Child Study Magazine* is also mentioned several times. Authors or reference books mentioned by two or more different parents are: Emmet Holt, Angelo Patri, J. B. Watson, Compton's Encyclopedia, The Book of Knowledge. Karl de Schweinitz, Sidonie Gruenberg, Bernarr McFadden, Bertrand Russell and George A. Dorsey meet together among those receiving single mention.

Although some of the insurance companies publish very useful pamphlets free from any bias, it is somewhat disconcerting to find a large percentage of Baby Health Station parents relying on pamphlets issued by corporations interested in the sale of particular goods. It is also regrettable that the stations do so little toward promoting the use of very excellent government pamphlets dealing with the total personality development of children. Although 16 in this group reported help from company bulletins, several in addition mentioned such bulletins with disfavor, 4 reported Board of Health bulletins, and only 1 mentioned any pamphlet issued by the federal government. Apparently the "health stations" function merely as health stations rather than as centers of parental education as regards behavior problems and pre-school education.

The reports from members both of school parental organizations and of the Child Study Association reveal the value of the discussion group method in the study of problems relating to child development and parent-child relations. It is regrettable that at present, according to the evidence introduced in the preceding section, at best

only 1 or 2 per cent of Brooklyn women engaged in homemaking and a negligible percentage of Brooklyn fathers have ever been enlisted in such courses.

#### LARGER ASPECTS OF EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD

Without gainsaying in the slightest the value of special studies in hygiene and child psychology, it is nevertheless true that the excellence or inferiority of parents in the multitude of their personal contacts with children and in the variety of exigencies that arise is largely determined by general background, education and intelligence. Moreover, the superior adult will be much more apt to select specific courses, study groups or books for help in meeting effectively his responsibilities as a parent. At the present time there is a large number of books on the mental and physical development of children which can be used by parents who are interested in the subject and who have had enough educational training to enable them to profit by individual study. Therefore the most fundamental question is: To what extent are the Brooklyn parents equipped in resources, intelligence and interest in child life to make good parents? The broad development of *adult minds* is the fundamental principle in this deeper consideration of education for parenthood. Unfortunately, the evidence seems to indicate that a disproportionately large number of children are being born to parents who are least adequately equipped.

It appears that among the children reported in this study, those in very small families (having one or two children only) have parents of more than elementary schooling in 45 cases out of 100, whereas the parents of very large families have gone farther than the elementary school in only 16 cases out of 100, and more than half of

TABLE XVII

EDUCATION AND INTEREST IN CHILD LIFE IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AS REVEALED BY MAIN CON-  
FERENCE QUESTIONNAIRES COLLECTED FROM PERSONS 31 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | MARITAL STATUS<br>AND<br>NUMBER OF CHILDREN | LEVEL OF REGULAR SCHOOLING |              |                     |                |                  |           | ADULT COURSES<br>OF ALL KINDS |                                    |                | INTEREST IN CHILDREN<br>AS A LEISURE-TIME<br>ACTIVITY |                                |                        |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
|                         |                                             | 6th grade or less          | 7-8th grades | H. S. or vocational | H. S. graduate | College graduate | No answer | None reported                 | 1-200 hours, or<br>time not stated | Over 200 hours | Play with children                                    | Telling stories<br>to children | Reading to<br>children |
|                         |                                             | Per cent                   |              |                     |                |                  |           | Per cent                      |                                    |                | Per cent                                              |                                |                        |
| 359                     | Unmarried .....                             | 16                         | 21           | 19                  | 21             | 18               | 5         | 42                            | 37                                 | 21             | 31                                                    | 10                             | 12                     |
| 153                     | Married, no children ....                   | 36                         | 24           | 12                  | 12             | 13               | 3         | 62                            | 26                                 | 13             | 27                                                    | 12                             | 10                     |
| 488                     | Married, 1 or 2 children...                 | 29                         | 23           | 18                  | 15             | 12               | 3         | 58                            | 27                                 | 16             | 56                                                    | 30                             | 32                     |
| 363                     | Married, 3, 4 or 5 children                 | 53                         | 16           | 12                  | 11             | 4                | 4         | 73                            | 17                                 | 10             | 45                                                    | 27                             | 23                     |
| 77                      | Married, 6 or more children                 | 66                         | 17           | 9                   | 4              | 3                | 1         | 87                            | 9                                  | 4              | 34                                                    | 22                             | 20                     |

them have never finished the grammar school grades. Similarly, the little child in the very small family has one chance in 3 that the grown-ups in his family will enjoy reading to him and telling him stories—and perhaps, one may hope, talking to him “on the level”—but the little child in the very large family has only 1 chance in 5 of such privileges.

These figures are derived from an analysis of data collected on the main Conference questionnaire. Among the special groups described in Section 2 of this chapter, the highest percentage of families with 5 children or more is found among the returns received through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. There the number of parents having families of this size runs to 26 per cent. Among 140 replies received from more varied sources (house-to-house interviews, baby health stations, and kindergarten mothers' clubs associated with settlements), 16 per cent had 5 or more children. Among the 100 replies received through organizations associated with the United Parents' Association, the Child Study Association, and the Parents' League, only 6 per cent had as many as 5 children. It is fortunately true that many parents who have adequate financial resources and a wide range of interests take a delight in having quite large families and devoting themselves with enthusiasm to the intellectual development of their children. It is unfortunately true, however, that a high proportion of very large families are found among people who do not have superior love for or enjoyment of children and who are incapable of providing superior environmental and educational advantages.

Parental education has larger aspects than courses for the study of child behavior—valuable as they may be. The all-round economic and spiritual well-being of adults



is the ultimate condition of healthy and wholesome child-life. Whatever educational programs are truly calculated to raise the cultural level of the adult population contribute indirectly but nevertheless vitally to the preparation of adults for the responsibilities of parenthood.

#### PUBLIC PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL EDUCATION

Parental education as regards child health and parent-child relations has already been recognized as a vital feature of public parental education. The recent White House Conference on Child Health and Protection has established this principle on a national basis. The recognition, however, has been more explicit as regards physical health than as regards emotional and intellectual development. The same logic inevitably holds in both fields. Under any conception of the function of the state that permits public appropriations for clinics and public schools, the provision in every neighborhood of publicly supported adult classes in parental education would appear to be an equally imperative necessity. Such classes might be a fundamental feature of the progress of the *public educational centers for adults* which have been discussed in other sections of the report.

Such public provisions for parental education will not in any way obviate the value of smaller study groups in community cultural institutions. As a matter of fact, the extensive stimulation of popular interest in education for parenthood which will inevitably result from the establishment of such public classes as are here contemplated will tend to make informal child study groups even more popular, and to increase the enrollment in child study courses on the university level.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF ADULT SOCIAL EDUCATION

The world is newer than ever before. Traditional ways of earning a living, making a home, making war, dancing, playing and thinking, even the old modes of dying are undergoing more rapid change throughout the whole human race than ever before in history, or before history. The complexity of social, economic and political interactions has increased in proportion to the rapidity of social change. The educational significance of this obvious fact is that it is necessary to think more upon public problems than it used to be, because problems arise more suddenly, are more complex, and larger issues are usually at stake. In medieval Europe kings might lead armies to war, enjoy victory or suffer defeat, or repeal or promulgate laws with little direct effect upon the tenor of daily life in European villages. All followed largely in patterns of long established ways of living. But to-day happenings in Wall Street will suddenly throw thousands of men out of their jobs in Detroit. The policies of the companies controlling the great broadcasting chains will affect the quality of music and to some extent the ideas in millions of American homes. Other instances of the complexity and consequences of social changes could be enumerated *ad infinitum*.

Meanwhile the control of national policies rests supposedly in the votes of that section of the American population that is native-born or naturalized and technically adult. There are not wanting many thoughtful persons who regard democracy as an experiment doomed to defeat, but such wholesale pessimism is perhaps merely an intellectual luxury. The possibility of confused, misled, blundering electorates and bad, even corrupt governments in America must, however, be taken seriously. It is clear that there is but one fundamental antidote, namely, an educated, intelligent, adult electorate, capable of understanding major public issues and of making wise or at least sane decisions and selections. Measures effectively designed to further this are as worthy of public support as the building and maintenance of good roads.

Is the American public seriously interested in and thoughtful about social problems? If so, it seems only fair to suppose that this should be reflected in the character of its reading. The situation as revealed by an analysis of the replies received from thirteen occupational groups, regarding leisure-time activities, does not warrant a highly favorable answer to this question. Persons interviewed were asked to check a list of leisure-time activities, including reading. Under this heading there were nine sub-headings, as follows:

Fiction

Trade, or professional

Mechanics, etc.

Styles, housekeeping, etc.

Literary magazines

History, biography, etc.

Philosophy, religion, etc.

Politics, economics, etc.

Science

TABLE XVIII

PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS, IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, WHO FREQUENTLY READ ALONG SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LINES

| NUMBER       | OCCUPATIONAL GROUP                                     | PERCENTAGE REPORTING THE READING OF FICTION, TRADE OR PROFESSIONAL, OR MECHANICS, ETC. | PERCENTAGE REPORTING THE READING OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS, ETC. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Men</i>   |                                                        |                                                                                        |                                                               |
| 99           | Unskilled workers .....                                | 38                                                                                     | 6                                                             |
| 200          | Semi-skilled workers .....                             | 54                                                                                     | 14                                                            |
| 200          | Skilled workers .....                                  | 69                                                                                     | 20                                                            |
| 200          | Clerical workers .....                                 | 73                                                                                     | 24                                                            |
| 150          | Policemen .....                                        | 39                                                                                     | 18                                                            |
| 150          | Business administrators ....                           | 82                                                                                     | 31                                                            |
| 100          | Professional workers .....                             | 90                                                                                     | 47                                                            |
| <i>Women</i> |                                                        |                                                                                        |                                                               |
| 100          | Industrial workers .....                               | 57                                                                                     | 3                                                             |
| 85           | Saleswomen .....                                       | 62                                                                                     | 5                                                             |
| 200          | Clerical workers .....                                 | 80                                                                                     | 14                                                            |
| 80           | Teachers .....                                         | 90                                                                                     | 16                                                            |
| 133          | Business administrators and professional workers ..... | 86                                                                                     | 23                                                            |
| 300          | Homemakers .....                                       | 57                                                                                     | 14                                                            |

To apply a still more severe test, among the random sample of 1,166, where the factor of interest in adult education supposedly did not bias the collection of data, just 6 reported any special adult courses in the entire field of social science, including scientific psychology, history, government, politics, eugenics, international relations, or economics (other than business courses).

According to the last report of the Brooklyn Public Library the circulation of books classified as sociology (including all the subjects mentioned above except history) constituted  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total circulation, and historical books make up another 3 per cent. But a considerable number of these were demanded by students in the preparation of class assignments.



## THE FORMATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

An attempt was made, in the course of the Brooklyn study, to analyze the effectiveness of different factors in the actual formation of a serious interest in social issues. A special questionnaire designed to collect information on this point was prepared. It was at first planned to collect this paper from persons calling for sociological books at the public libraries, but this scheme proved impracticable. It was then decided to send questionnaires to the Brooklyn subscribers of four outstanding periodicals in this field. The magazines mentioned below granted permission and coöperated in the arrangements. Two thousand seven hundred and eighty-three questionnaires were sent out, and 309 replies were received (11 per cent). Thirty-nine of these were discarded as irrelevant or incompletely filled out. The remaining 270 are an unusually complete set of replies, supplemented by original comments in a large number of cases. Most replies are anonymous. These 270 returns are distributed, according to source, as follows:

| PERIODICAL                         | NUMBER OF<br>QUESTIONNAIRES<br>MAILED | NUMBER OF<br>USABLE REPLIES<br>RECEIVED |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>The New Republic</i> .....      | 370                                   | 55                                      |
| <i>The Survey</i> .....            | 407                                   | 70                                      |
| <i>The Nation</i> .....            | 1,000                                 | 120                                     |
| <i>The Review of Reviews</i> ..... | 1,000                                 | 25                                      |

Two processes of selection entered into the determination of the returns. In the first place, only persons who had enough interest in public problems to subscribe regularly to journals dealing with such problems on a fairly high intellectual level received the questionnaires. In the second place, only those who recognized the address, "To

persons seriously interested in social, economic and political problems," as applicable to themselves, who found the questions interesting, and who were public-spirited enough to take the trouble to reply, supplied the data to be analyzed. In a few cases those who replied indicated that they did not comprehend or sympathize with the objectives of the study. These were discarded. A few quotations, with descriptive identifications, will give the character of these discarded samples:

"When I went to school I never heard of any course in Social Science; and Social Problems sounds to me like a woman's business."

—Lawyer, Republican.

"Reading and work were the most important in the formation of my interest in Electricity."

—Electrician, Democrat.

"I have not taken any particular interest in the subject mentioned—interested rather in church, Sunday School and mission work."

—Banker, Republican.

The reliability of the sample as representative of persons interested in social problems is further vouchsafed by the percentage of replies to the question, "What special courses, if any, have you taken in social problems or the social sciences?" One hundred and eighty-six out of 270 (69 per cent) answered this question in the affirmative, listing a total of 479 courses or groups of related courses. And many of the 84 who did not report formal courses stated that they had read extensively in related fields.

The courses reported as related to social problems were distributed as follows:

|                                                             | COURSES | GROUPS OF<br>COURSES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| Social theory and social science.....                       | 98      | 25                   |
| Economics * .....                                           | 86      | 8                    |
| Labor problems .....                                        | 12      | 0                    |
| History and current events .....                            | 45      | 7                    |
| Political science, international relations,<br>civics ..... | 44      | 4                    |
| Applied social science .....                                | 31      | 2                    |
| Education .....                                             | 18      | 5                    |
| Philosophy and ethics .....                                 | 27      | 4                    |
| Child psychology .....                                      | 13      | 0                    |
| Personnel administration .....                              | 5       | 0                    |
| Psychology ** .....                                         | 42      | 3                    |
|                                                             | 421     | 58                   |

\* Not including labor problems.

\*\* Not including child psychology or personnel administration.

All, except three, of the respondents had at least partially completed high school and 87 per cent were college people, nearly half of whom had taken professional or postgraduate work. There were 171 men and 99 women. A majority were between the ages of 26 and 59; 21 per cent were younger than this, and 27 per cent were older.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of the replies by occupation and by political party runs as follows:

## RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION

| PERIODICAL               | Professional<br>workers | Business<br>administrators | Clerical workers | Manual workers | Students | Not gainfully<br>employed | Miscellaneous | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------|---------------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>New Republic</i> .... | 39                      | 6                          | 2                | 0              | 1        | 5                         | 2             | 55    |
| <i>Survey</i> .....      | 54                      | 4                          | 0                | 0              | 1        | 11                        | 0             | 70    |
| <i>Nation</i> .....      | 70                      | 12                         | 8                | 3              | 12       | 11                        | 4             | 120   |
| <i>Review of Reviews</i> | 14                      | 5                          | 1                | 1              | 3        | 1                         | 0             | 25    |
| Total .....              | 177                     | 27                         | 11               | 4              | 17       | 28                        | 6             | 270   |

<sup>1</sup> The 4 per cent who did not state their age are disregarded in these figures.

## RESPONDENTS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

| PERIODICAL               | Democratic | Republican | Socialist | Communist | Independent<br>or no answer | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------|
| <i>New Republic</i> .... | 13         | 16         | 4         | 1         | 27                          | 55    |
| <i>Survey</i> .....      | 8          | 22         | 10        | 0         | 30                          | 70    |
| <i>Nation</i> .....      | 16         | 7          | 40        | 1         | 56                          | 120   |
| <i>Review of Reviews</i> | 5          | 9          | 1         | 0         | 10                          | 25    |
| Total .....              | 42         | 48         | 55        | 2         | 123                         | 270   |

If 31 persons who classified as Democratic, Republican, or Socialist,<sup>2</sup> but who explicitly qualified their answers by such expressions as "leaning towards," "usually favoring," or "frequently independent" were added to those listed as independents, the total in this column would be raised to 156, or 58 per cent of the total number reporting. The other 42 per cent would be made up as follows: Democrats 13 per cent, Republicans 14 per cent, Socialists 16 per cent, and Communists 1 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

The high percentage of professional workers and the high degree of political non-conformity might be expected in an analysis of persons particularly interested in public problems. The last four presidents of the United States before entry into public office were, as is well known, all of the professional class, a teacher, an editor, a lawyer and an engineer. The last Socialist candidate was formerly a minister. And the present occupant of the presidency was at one time suspected of a tendency toward political independence. It is not surprising to find similar

<sup>2</sup> Eight Democrats, 11 Republicans, 12 Socialists. One described his political and religious status as "sort of a Democrat, weak Jewish."

<sup>3</sup> Fractions are disregarded, so that the sum of the percentages varies 2 points from the actual total.



characteristics among independent students of political affairs. Nevertheless, the high concentration of interest of this sort in the professional class is disconcerting. One might have hoped for a somewhat better representation of business administrators and manual workers. The small representation from these sources is again suggestive of the lack of widespread, intense interest in the population at large.

In the analysis of how these students of public affairs first became interested in such subjects, the first outstanding fact is that politics and social problems are adult concerns, and interest here is commonly formed in later school years or in adult life. Boys or girls clubs, with a few possible exceptions, do not appear among the organizations said to have exercised an important influence. It is true that 97 list home influences and 83 report school influences as important. But 7 of those mentioning home influences refer to marriage partners, children, or others of their own age or younger; and 11 say that their home influenced their development because of conditions against which they rebelled or otherwise reacted negatively. Fifty per cent of the 97 simply checked "home" in a suggested list as one of the factors affecting the development of their interest in social problems. Twenty-three persons ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total), however, specifically mention parents as a positive influence in this development. Among those who report school influences, 31 do not define the period in their education to which they refer. Only 1 mentions grammar school, and only 9 high school. In other words, 43 out of 63 (69 per cent of those specifying schools, 16 per cent of the total) locate the period in which their interest was aroused as in college or after college. In fact, 10 of these list specific adult schools such as the New School for Social Research,

The Rand School, and the People's Institute of New York in this connection.

The reports on environmental influences are in many cases extremely interesting. A nurse refers to her experience in the wards, and several doctors, ministers, teachers and social workers to analogous contacts. A research engineer, having engagements in many parts of the world, a teacher who served in the American University at Cairo, one who taught in a colored school in Atlanta, and another in a Northern rural community say that the impressions received from these environments gave them a personal interest in the larger problems of human welfare. Several refer to early poverty in their own homes. Several mention the experience of the World War, and one refers to the economic depression of 1921. Two say that their personal interest in social problems was aroused by instances of the suppression of free speech, among students at the College of the City of New York in one case, and by the suspension of Will Durant by the Board of Education in the other. One refers to his experience in a labor exchange, and another to his work as a research accountant. A very large number, 76, report the important influence of personal friends including informal discussion among students and occasional discussion groups or "seminars."

The large number of those who report school influences (83), in contrast to the relatively small number who mention lectures (4), debates (3), forums (3), street meetings (3), or radio (1), points toward the importance of the more intensive and thorough types of educational work in this field. It is also very interesting to note that 19 of those mentioning school influences refer specifically to the influence of one or several great teachers who profoundly influenced their thinking. Most of them leave

these individuals anonymous. The teachers named are Morris Cohen, John Dewey (2), H. W. B. Joseph, William Kilpatrick (2), von Kleuze, Joseph Wood Krutch, Frank M. McMurray, Philip V. N. Myers, Henry Neumann and Ripley Woods.

In addition to the mention of special adult schools and the influence of individual teachers, the importance of first hand educational contacts is further emphasized by the mention in 64 instances<sup>4</sup> of various organizations which are said to have operated as formative influences in creating an interest in social problems. Progressive women's clubs are referred to in 10 instances, including the Women's City Club, Civitas, National Council of Jewish Women, and the League of Women Voters. Churches are mentioned 8 times, including 2 references to the Community Church. Settlements, community centers, and cultural clubs, altogether in 9 instances, in addition to 5 references to the Y.M. or Y.W.C.A. Direct trade union influences were mentioned just twice, in one case the Teachers' Union, in the other the Women's Trade Union League; but others in referring to home influences stated that their parents had been active in trade union movements either abroad or in this country. Socialist party organizations were mentioned six times and other political organizations twice. The Menorah Society, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and 16 other organizations are mentioned by single individuals.

Home, school, work, friends, organizations and environmental contacts are all frequently listed, but the formative influence most commonly reported is *reading*. More than half of the total sample check this factor. The authors mentioned include Jane Addams, Harry Elmer

<sup>4</sup> By 51 different individuals.



Barnes, Edward Bellamy, Randolph Bourne, Stuart Chase, Herbert Croly, Charles Darwin, John Dewey, Sherwood Eddy, Henry George, Franklin Giddings, John A. Hobson, Walter Lippmann, Kirby Page, Walter Rauschenbusch, Jacob Riis, George Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair and H. G. Wells. It must be remembered that this list refers to authors who exercised an initial influence rather than to those studied in the systematic pursuit of social science.

The net upshot of the whole analysis is that the original formation of a vital interest in social and political problems is a process usually occurring, if at all, in the late teens, the early twenties, or in adult life, and that it is an intimate process in which immediate personal experiences and the influence of inspiring teachers and writers play important parts. To the thoughtful observer it must also be apparent that the development of social interest into social wisdom requires a long process of systematic, scientific study. The arousal of vital interest in public problems is only half the story. The development of social intelligence on a national scale is a vast undertaking. It involves the stimulation of politically lethargic minds, and the training of enthusiasts in the use of scientific method. The task is one that must be shared by community institutions and by universities.

It is entirely possible that the small degree of influence exerted by high schools and elementary schools on the formation of interest in social problems and social science may be due to the lack of emphasis in this field in traditional school curricula for these periods. The present movement to introduce social science into secondary and even into elementary school education may produce quite different results.



## A SYMPOSIUM ON EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

The respondents described above contributed many original suggestions regarding the development of educational work with adults along social science lines. Some are amusingly naïve but a larger number very thoughtful, pertinent and constructive. The editor accordingly proposes to introduce these contributors, leaving them anonymous even where names are signed, but reporting occupation and political party. About 40 out of a total of 123 comments were eliminated as being irrelevant or lacking in any specific, possibly practical suggestion (for example, discussions of social *objectives* such as the repeal of prohibition, a free press, vital religious experience, or a better economic order). No opinions were suppressed because they differed from any thesis of the Conference or because they criticized any institutions. One central suggestion or group of suggestions, most stressed by the contributors, was selected. These remarks are presented either verbatim (with occasional corrections of diction), or slightly condensed. The replies fall naturally into the following main groups, coming to consensus of opinion along several lines, with a major emphasis on the importance of community educational centers:

|                                                                                                                        |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| a. Stress on juvenile rather than adult education .....                                                                | 5  |
| b. Stress on lectures, radio, etc. ....                                                                                | 10 |
| c. Suggestions regarding the conduct of classes in social science for adults, especially as regards collegiate courses | 15 |
| d. Suggestions regarding adult institutes for social science studies .....                                             | 10 |
| e. Miscellaneous suggestions .....                                                                                     | 10 |
| f. Suggestions regarding neighborhood educational centers and informal study groups .....                              | 33 |
| Total.....                                                                                                             | 83 |

*A. Stress on juvenile rather than adult education*

"The proper place to start and foster further interest in this work is in our high schools, under the guidance of proper teachers."  
—Physician, Republican.

Economics, history, civics are all taught at present in secondary schools. To round out these, a course in the social problems should be given say in the senior year.

—Statistician, Independent.

"Get after the adolescent instead." —Teacher, Democrat.

"The elementary and high school systems to-day lack direct contact with problems concerning social education. A student must pick a 'cut and dried' routine of study and follow it through. . . . Personal appeal . . . is needed. Adult education is impossible unless one starts with the young child. . . ."

—Salesman, Independent.

"Adult education is not the important thing to-day. Rather, and emphatically, [it is] child and adolescent education. . . . If done well and properly, the adult will be educated and will keep up to date by reading magazines."

—Teacher, Independent.

*Note:* This stress is altogether sound. It is very possible that the recency of the movement for introducing social science studies into secondary and even elementary schools accounts for the small percentage of persons reporting an awakening of interest in social problems during high school years. The widespread introduction of social studies into high and elementary schools, if developed vitally in relation to children's and young people's interests, will have far-reaching effects. On the other hand, the continued development of mature social studies in relation to economic and political changes will inevitably remain a problem of adult education. The two emphases are obviously complementary rather than antagonistic. It is also true that for many adults magazines

and books will be the most important avenue of continued education, provided they are so situated as to have adequate opportunity for stimulating informal discussion. For many, however, the first-hand contacts of small classes and study groups will be most important.

*B. Stress on lectures, radio, etc.*

“. . . have more and better organized lecture work.”

—Housewife, Democrat.

“The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences is an example of a very efficient agency reaching a great many adult people. . . . I should think that a canvass of the libraries as to the types of books being read, and if possible invitations to the readers of serious books to hear similar topics would be one way of getting interested groups together.”

—Teacher, Democrat.

“I believe that the greatest fault with people as far as social problems are concerned is that they do not read, or do not know how to read, an ordinary newspaper. The only way to remedy this situation is by getting the proper information directly to the people. We should have frequent public lectures in our schools and other public places at which the truth should be explained very simply about what is going on in America.”

—Civil engineer, Democrat.

“I believe that one of the most successful means of interesting the greatest number of adults in this type of problem would be through short talks on the radio.”

—Teacher, Independent.

“Frequent and regular lectures over the radio on serious social, political and economic questions.”

—Teacher, Socialist.

“W. N. Y. C. and other radios should be urged to promote symposiums on controversial social problems, etc.”

—Writer, Socialist.

“I am under the impression that good lectures and debates by prominent and interesting educators would greatly widen



and help sustain the general interest in social problems. These lectures should be well announced and conveniently located so as to be easily accessible for the majority of people. If possible I would even suggest that they be given free."

—Designer, Socialist.

"Our community is sadly lacking in a real civic forum, which would stimulate thought, meditation, and then action respecting these problems. In our political district (the 23rd Assembly District, Kings County) the democratic club acts as a clearing house of social and economic ills, and this, it is submitted, is the only organization which ministers in a comparatively substantial way to the needs of the community."

—Lawyer, Democrat.

"The forum idea, which is at the present time deteriorating to a certain extent because of the commercialism which is coming to be connected with it, holds out the greatest promise in addition to the other usual means, as group discussions, classes, etc."

—Rabbi, Independent.

"My suggestions could not be used by your organization. They are the methods that the Communist Party employs in distributing pamphlets, leaflets, etc., to the workers and holding open forums on the topic of interest to the mass of population."

—Musician, Communist.

*Note:* The reader may compare the arguments advanced in this section with those developed in Section D. Suggestions regarding the use of radio are in line with a suggestion developed earlier in the previous chapter.

*C. Suggestions regarding the conduct of classes in social science for adults, especially as regards collegiate courses*

"In the existing agencies for adult education there exists an excessively learned atmosphere. There is a lack of plasticity, an inability to adjust to persons who lack elementary scholastic training. While there is ample popularization of social science and problems in books, there is not nearly enough of the same popularization in educational institutions. . . . it should be



possible to extend enlightenment on social institutions and problems . . . by making studies in the social sciences . . . available to persons of intelligence but of limited education and means."

—Salesman, Independent.

"I am teaching some adult classes in Social Science myself (Summer School, New York League of Girls' Clubs) and I wish I knew more of what develops an interest in social problems. My experience is that adults will accept any material, difficult or abstract, if only it is made interesting, that is, human, vivid, dramatic (rather than logical). I suppose Bernard Shaw had more influence on me than anything else. People who work all day rightly ask to be interested."

—Economist, Democrat.

"Believe cultural courses, rather than strictly utilitarian, of most value, as opening up new vistas, especially psychological or literary courses. Much depends on instructor—even inspired teacher has to face fact of tired students whose attendance means that a great deal of physical fatigue is involved in coming and returning. Possibly courses need not all be given at night—perhaps early morning or even Sunday morning could be used. Small classes are desirable, as establishing a real exchange of ideas between instructor and students."

—Clerical supervisor, Democrat.

"Public library lectures are the only signs of public efforts to spread interest in public affairs. Attendance at various of these lectures has been very disappointing as there was no questioning at the end of the lectures, which were marked by supreme apathy of the audience."

—Bank clerk, Democrat.

"There is not sufficient freedom of choice left to the students in so far as specialization (in social sciences) is concerned."

—Student, Independent.

"The quality of university extension courses is so far below that of ordinary undergraduate work that it appeals little to the college graduate who may want occasional courses.

"I found the method at the Boston Trade Union College in 1919 very good. Each session was two hours, one of which was devoted to lecture and the second to question and discus-

sion. The faculty, during that year, was exceptionally high in scholastic standing.”  
—Housewife, Independent.

“I think the hours and inaccessibility of most serious courses is the chief obstacle for most of us who would be interested.”  
—Homemaker, Republican.

Six other suggestions along lines similar to last.

“For supplementing the large number of lecture courses small study groups should be organized. The first is an indoor sport of little value; the second may yield intelligent understanding. . . . A combination of the lecture and small group discussion methods, conducted by two instructors, may prove stimulating. Greater use of current periodicals would mean integration of reading with real problems. Greater stress on reading by oneself is essential.”  
—Teacher, Socialist.

“Courses given by good lecturers and instructors are far too expensive for people not using these courses for personal advancement.”  
—Teacher, Independent.

*Note:* These criticisms are rather scattered, and a number apply to the whole problem of the available courses for adults rather than specifically to education along social lines. Some of these remarks are, however, very pointed and constructive.

It is true that a number of colleges and universities make a policy of paying low salaries to teachers in the evening sessions, organize large classes, and fail to differentiate between the needs of younger students taking regular courses for academic credits and those of more mature students seeking intellectual stimulation along special lines. Other institutions, fortunately, have overcome such defects of administration and are developing evening courses on a high educational level and specifically adapted to adult needs.

The provision of popular courses “available to persons of intelligence but of limited education and means”

and the provision of advanced courses for mature students are perhaps equally important but are certainly very different undertakings. The greatest contribution of institutions of higher education would seem to be the second, more specialized task. Colleges, universities and independent research centers have the responsibility for educating leaders of thought along social lines, including the training of personnel capable of leading more popular community programs.

Popular education may be left to popular institutions. Of course, the colleges may also minister to this need if they can do so without confusion of function or degradation of the quality of evening work.

*D. Suggestions regarding adult institutes for social science studies*

"In Brooklyn a People's Institute, like that maintained at Cooper Union and Muehlenberg Library, would be advantageous."

—Unemployed, Independent.

"An institution similar to the People's Institute at Cooper Union and at the various public libraries throughout Manhattan could be established in Brooklyn. If there is anything like it at present it certainly is carefully hidden."

—Statistician, Independent.

"Best work that I know of for intelligent adults is that given by the People's Institute, New York, and the New School for Social Research."

—Homemaker, Independent.

"The work of the People's Institute of Brooklyn strikes me as of great value. The People's Institute work carried on in New York by E. D. Martin is most useful. Wherever there is a church forum under liberal auspices there is adult education. The promotion of study clubs composed of neighbors or congenial souls is most helpful."

—Teacher, Independent.

"I hold with Upton Sinclair that my knowledge of Socialism (and, of course, its related theories regarding economic evolu-



tion and its effect upon social conditions) is my most priceless intellectual possession. This being so, I would recommend for every adult the same 'intellectual possession.' This may be best secured at the Rand School of Social Science."

—Clerical supervisor, Socialist.

"The nearest approach to an effective school for adult education I have found in the New School for Social Research where an attempt has been made to eliminate the competitive element. If practically possible, more schools should be located in various parts of the city so as to eliminate the difficulty of attendance by adults who, due to the necessity of having to work and maintain a home, have little spare time at their disposal."

—Civil engineer, Independent.

"Would suggest that the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences be taken as a model in a modernized manner, or same Institute with some courses weeded out and others of real worth substituted."

—Homemaker, Republican.

"There should be schools for this branch of study. If we can have schools of commerce, why not schools of social science?"

—Student, Independent.

"I should be very glad to attend such lectures and glad to urge others. . . . I haven't the heart to expect young graduates to work hard all day and go . . . far to lectures at night."

—Superintendent of nurses, Republican.

"A Study Building, where, for very small charge or fee, students who live in homes uncongenial to study could go and work quietly. This would possibly be run in conjunction with a library, or branch of Rand School or New School [for Social Research]."

—Occupation, etc., not given.

*Note:* There is undoubtedly an outstanding need for a strong collegiate department or special institute offering social science courses for adults in Brooklyn. None such exists at the present time, although scattered evening courses in social science of a very satisfactory nature are offered in several institutions. The Brooklyn Institute of



Arts and Sciences tends to emphasize literary, artistic and the more traditional cultural subjects. It is true that the Institute offers quite a variety of popular social science courses, but no serious attempt has been made to develop a consistent social science center of a character appealing to advanced students. For example, in recent announcements of Institute courses there have been no listings under "Economics." There are a number of courses listed under Anthropology, Sociology, and so forth. But many of these are descriptions of travel, foreign customs, etc., and other courses of a distinctly popular variety.

There is ample opportunity in Brooklyn for a vigorous social science center analogous to the type of schools mentioned above. Such a center, however, need not necessarily be independent of a general college or university. Moreover, it should have a different character from institutions in Manhattan appropriate to the needs of the district.

#### *E. Miscellaneous suggestions*

##### (1) Magazine policies

"If *The New Republic* used some of the methods of *Harper's* and *The Literary Digest* to persuade English teachers to use *The New Republic* in their classes, especially in colleges, it might influence a larger public of young people to more interest and information about social problems. The recent undertaking of the Survey Associates to have meetings on social problems for their associates and their friends, seems to me to have possibilities." —Teacher of English, Democrat.

##### (2) Conference of liberal press, and clubs of readers

"I believe that if the liberal newspapers and journals of the United States of America were to hold a conference on the co-ordinating of their work something might come out of it. They should organize their readers in clubs under the guidance of a

national executive committee. The object of the clubs should be to educate the general public through every means known."

—Student, Independent.

(3) Inexpensive literature

"The distribution of texts, essays, discussion pamphlets and dollar books dealing with adult problems and experiments."

—Public accountant, Socialist.

"Publication of outstanding works at very popular prices and sale to students via informal agencies (Y. M. H. A.'s, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, etc.)."

—Social worker, Independent

(4) Personal observation

"The middle classes need to see the sordid side of life. If all adults of middle class means or above that class could be shown the more sordid existence that some of us live, they might be more willing to help in social reform work."

—Occupation, etc., not given.

(5) The use of case studies and analyses

"I believe the issuance of bulletins giving cases where social problems have arisen, and social injustice has been done, arouse in most liberal-minded people a resentment against such conditions. 'The Nation' often has this effect. If, with such case histories, in such a bulletin were given analyses showing root-factors for such occurrences or conditions, that resentment might be turned into a constructive force for wiping out certain of these injustices. It would certainly have the effect of arousing an interest to pursue further studies on such topics."

—Lawyer, Democrat.

(6) Mission study technique

"Some fifteen years ago a technique was developed by various Boards of Foreign Missions called the 'Mission Study Class,' for the study of social and religious conditions in foreign countries. It was also applied somewhat to similar conditions in America. A study of this method might be suggestive as to the present problem."

—Teacher, Republican.

(7) Immigrant backgrounds

"Recognize, first, for Brooklyn the immigrant backgrounds; and plan for correlation of old to new political thinking."

Stress, particularly, problems of adjustment for second generation young men and women."

—Homemaker, Independent.

(8) A comparison between situations as regards adult education in Europe and in America

"As a European, born and educated in Sweden until I was 24 years of age, the first thing that struck my attention when I landed in this country a few years ago was the blatant disinterest toward social, economical and political problems among the masses in general. The scarcity as well as long distances to lecture halls and insufficient advertising of lecture courses deters participation to any great extent.

"In Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Germany I found that the educational work in social science was handled in different educational societies or institutes, generally with one, two or more lecture halls, dependent on the size of the population. These societies were subsidized by the city government, as well as different labor unions and other organizations. Lectures were given during the Winter season three times a week and others every night. A very low entrance or course fee was charged, equivalent to one or two dollars for a whole lecture season. In order to stimulate the interest for the courses the newspapers used to give plenty of space as well as running essays and serials of subjects concerned. Another reason why these courses drew great attention was that the lecture halls had a non-political atmosphere and special scholarships within the labor unions were given their members to avail them of participation."

—Linotype operator, Independent.

(9) Reading courses

"For the business man it is my opinion that a well balanced reading course, suggested or prepared by specialists, is the best possible solution for further study of social and political problems. Frequent symposiums would also be of great assistance."

—Building materials business, Socialist.

*Note:* As regards the last suggestion, such reading courses now exist. The adult usually wants to secure courses adapted to his particular interests, and for this



purpose needs the aid of a specially trained librarian, a "readers' guide." The New York Public Library, at 42nd Street, provides this service. The Brooklyn Public Library has not been able to do this as yet.

*F. Suggestions regarding neighborhood educational centers and informal study groups*

"I would suggest the formation of study groups in each community, headed by some competent person who would be willing to give his time, and using the facilities of a library or school, as a meeting center. These groups could work in co-operation with the New School for Social Research, and other schools of adult education, obtaining lecturers at a small cost per person."

—Attorney, Democrat.

"It seems to me that the organization of social science groups, somewhat in the manner of the courses offered by the New School for Social Research but decidedly less expensive, would prove of great assistance in the development of studies along these lines. . . . More than half of the time should be given to open floor discussions of the various problems presented."

—Attorney, Independent.

"For the 'educated,' well read and intelligently interested:  
Open discussion forums or classes under direction of able and unbiased leaders.

Opportunities for participation in social-political problems in the community through organized surveys and co-operative studies of a variety of problems.

Supplying public libraries with sufficient books and organizing publicity for their use.

"For the 'uneducated':

Classes and discussion groups unhampered by formal teaching of civics, United States history, cut and dried 'subjects.' Subject matter to be brought in by association with projects and discussions of spontaneous interest."

—Social worker, Independent.

"There is an interesting experiment in adult education going on in Providence, I believe, with discussion groups, eve-



ning classes. I like the idea. Lectures can be read comfortably at home, out of books."

—Director personnel bureau, Independent.

"Forming groups of friends or club members under some well known lecturer has usually proved the easiest method in Brooklyn."

—Writer, Democrat.

"Groups of young men . . . who are interested in continued study need opportunity to select specific cultural and technical courses. . . . The approach can be made through the individual's interests. The layman is doing some casual reading, he can be guided into definite study of social problems and sciences. Informal gatherings in forums and discussion groups—with informed leadership—constitute a superior opportunity."

—Y. M. C. A. secretary, Republican.

"My original interest in . . . social problems . . . was developed by a young woman who directed a small group of us, a so-called club. To my mind that is one of the interesting ways to [afford] . . . free discussion and . . . a better chance for developing insight or foresight as to social problems, etc."

—Housewife, Socialist.

"I would like to join a social club or organization, or organize such an institution, comprising young men and women, and develop the study of problems concerning social sciences."

—Furrier, Socialist.

"Meetings for lectures, discussions and social contacts seem to be a potent means of furthering interest in the social good. My wife and self would be happy to coöperate to this end."

—Decorator, Independent.

Six other suggestions along lines similar to above.

### *Social science education through labor unions:*

"Although the need for such educational work is apparent, I cannot see that much has been done. . . . The coöperation of the labor unions, workers' circles and other such agencies should be sought for, and made of intelligent use. The pitiful ignorance of most working people with whom I have come in contact, bears well to the lack or failure of any such edu-

cational work to present to them a clear sighted version of politics, and government in general." —Student, Socialist.

*Social science education through church organizations:*

"I think much can be done . . . by the discussion group method. Church organizations are to some extent doing some such thing in men's clubs, forums, etc. . . ."

—Engineer, Socialist.

"The Federation of Churches might encourage short courses in the women's and men's social organizations of the various churches in these problems. These people are already interested in their church activities, but what real knowledge have they of underlying causes of social problems? Here are groups already organized with which much might be accomplished."

—Housewife, Republican.

*Social science education through political clubs:*

"The political clubs should be stimulated by the educational program of such organizations as the League of Women Voters to substitute for some of their social activities genuine education of their constituents regarding legislation either contemplated or pending and their own party policies and beliefs. I suppose this is an altogether utopian suggestion."

—Housewife, Republican.

"More social courses should be included in active political club programs."

—Social worker, Republican.

*Social science education through company educational programs:*

"The Employees' Club of a company with which I am acquainted offered an elementary course in Psychology to its members this winter and secured an initial enrollment of approximately 300 adults. The lectures were given at 5:15 on Tuesdays within the Company building. Foreign language courses are to be initiated next year. I would like to see a course in World Politics given and will welcome suggestions as to methods of organization, procedure, etc. I also believe that a course in contemporary Social Problems would evoke worthwhile response.

"It is my opinion that discussion groups rather than straight lecture courses tend to sustain members' interest and provoke original thought and curiosity."

—Export business, Independent.

*Public school or other municipal community educational centers:*

"Courses in Sociology, Industrial Relations, Politics, Civics, Psychology, planned for persons of general intelligence and general interest, should be arranged by the Board of Education, using the schools as Centers. . . . To date such courses are usually only open to people who can pay and pay well and to those who have a required academic background. Under these circumstances, we are limiting the growth of the backbone of our citizenry."

—Student, Republican.

"Suggest establishment of municipal community centers where educational activities may be combined with social affairs."

—Optometrist, Independent.

"The public schools to be used as centers for educational activities. This eliminates traveling for the adult, and brings the educational center to his front door. . . . Free concerts and entertainments to be historically significant, and covering all countries and races. The value of entertainment as a drawing card is very essential."

—Manager of a coöperative, Independent.

"I should be interested in taking courses in child study and guidance along lines of those offered by the New School for Social Research if such a school were near home, [also courses in the] social and political sciences. . . . Of course, centralization makes possible really valuable constructive courses, but attendance is out of the question for many on account of the time necessary for traveling."

—Housewife, Independent.

"Would suggest a course in these subjects, given in public schools during the evenings. A small fee would keep up the attendance at these lectures. People do not attend anything regularly when there is no charge. Classes in hygiene and eugenics are really necessary. First aid for the injured is a subject that everyone should know. Lectures on the various sciences taught in such a way that the layman could grasp



the theme easier would help. More libraries with better reading matter would help." —Petroleum inspector, Republican.

*Parents' organizations, mothers' clubs, kindergarten mothers' clubs:*

"... These have definitely become experiments in adult education. They are still too often, however, concerned with the collection of money to supply school needs. Instead they should be organized on a study group basis. The United Parents' Association is working in this direction."

—School principal, Independent.

"... parents should be given some kind of constructive education in relation to the proper upbringing of children, ... should be made to realize the influence of environment and proper understanding of children's problems upon their children."

—Student, Republican.

"Would like to take more courses along psychological lines, also child training and relations of parents, etc. There should be courses in schools in the evening along these lines. Many would benefit."

—Housewife, Republican.

*Community study of local problems:*

"There should be: (1) Classes on problems of child care, especially sociological and psychological factors which go into the making of problem and delinquent children. (2) Classes in parent education. More people should be influenced; if English is not understood well, then classes should be formed in the language of the community. (3) Discussions of community needs, such as settlements, nurseries, clubs and so forth.

"Community resources and their uses may be fit subjects for class discussion.

"History, economics, politics, comparative religion and other classes may be formed as the need arises.

"... very desirable ... if some credit were given at successful completion of work. ..."

—Social worker, Democrat.

"The most promising suggestions I know for persons of my type of education are along the lines of discussion centering on a vital [community] study [such as that] organized



by Dr. E. C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work."  
—Teacher, Democrat.

"It is my belief that there is a real need for community centers for the study of local problems."

—Teacher, Independent.

*Need of coöperation of educational institutions in supplying leaders:*

"Institutions of higher learning in metropolitan district should offer courses or supply instructors for special groups."

—Dean of a professional school, Independent.

## CHAPTER IX

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY IN ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education in America, at least in urban districts, has remained highly individualistic in character, and for the most part narrowly limited in its objectives. In collegiate centers and in a few unusual adult schools excellent opportunities are provided for the intellectual stimulation of superior and ambitious individuals. Otherwise the educational efforts of adults are in large part directed toward learning the English language, getting into or advancing in a job, or getting into or getting through college. Adult education has enabled many individuals to rise to higher economic and social levels, but it has not developed into a social movement in this country, as it has, for example, in Denmark or in England. It has not become a far-reaching force in the life of American communities. Perhaps it is just beginning to become such a force; the test is the extent to which educational motives are becoming vital in community organizations.

Artistic tastes, scientific interests and social attitudes are largely formed in intimate conversations between persons in families, clubs, classes, and business houses. Accordingly, education can become a profound force in the lives of adults only in so far as it becomes related to and operates through popular community institutions. This is what has happened in the two countries mentioned above. In Denmark the adult education movement has

been closely related to the rise of the coöperatives, and in England it has been an integral part of the labor movement. It would, of course, be quite futile to attempt to transplant either of these educational developments to American soil, for here we do not have either the co-operatives or anything corresponding to what is known as the labor movement in England.

In what community organizations is social education striking root, or where may it strike root, so as to play an important part in the formation of intellectual interests and public policies in such a metropolitan area as Brooklyn? This is the question to be canvassed in this chapter.

#### INDEPENDENT CLUBS

First of all, there are clubs: boys' clubs, women's clubs, professional clubs, civic clubs. They may exist independently or within the structure of more established institutions. They are frequently, in fact, the growing spots in moribund social bodies. Because of their spontaneity and flexibility they are a good barometer of popular culture. There are not probably as many clubs, proportionately, in a metropolitan area as in smaller communities. In Brooklyn 32 per cent of those answering the main Conference questionnaire report that they belong to some sort of a club, whereas the authors of Middletown found that in a sample of 324 men and women (246 working class, 78 business class) 58 per cent had club affiliations.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, clubs in the larger cities are more apt to be specialized in char-

<sup>1</sup> Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd: *Middletown*, p. 528. In Middletown, the business class men and women almost without exception belonged to organizations; 57 per cent of the working class men did also, but only 36 per cent of their wives.

acter and may possibly be capable of greater educational significance than those in more provincial centers. A minority of clubs have consciously planned educational programs, but a very considerable minority. Among the 1,493 persons who mention club membership on the Conference questionnaire, 594 (40 per cent) say that these clubs have some sort of educational program. Many others have actual or possible educational significance.

There are a very large number of independent athletic and social clubs among Brooklyn youths, existing for the most part without adult leadership but conducting their affairs with considerable decorum. Many of them follow what the anthropologists would call a very definite culture-pattern; in other words, they run to type. The Owls may be taken as representative of this type. They have a meeting room in the basement of one of the members' homes in Borough Park. After stumbling along the basement passage one enters this well-lighted room, painted in three colors, with banners on the walls, pictures cut from magazines, a "No Smoking" sign, and the framed photograph of a former champion basketball team. There is a miscellany of used furniture, a desk for the president and secretary, and a victrola. The majority of the eighteen members are still in high school, two are attending C.C.N.Y., and five are working. Three of those working have attended evening school, but one dropped out after a few weeks. One is working in a printing shop, another as stock-clerk in a wrapper factory, another as a runner in Wall Street. The majority expect to enter some sort of mercantile occupation. The major interests of the club are the traditional war, love, and moot—it is an *athletic* and *social club*. Much of the time in the meeting is used up in the collection of dues and discussions incidental to dues; for the financial dealings, including con-



tracts for athletic suits, run above a hundred dollars a year. In the informal discussions among the members all their cultural resources are brought into play. Member talent of a popular sort is much in demand at the club's social events. A boy who played the violin was denied his request to be reimbursed for some damaged property. He waited until the approach of another party and then easily carried a motion to reconsider the club's previous decision. Recitations of Kipling or Service or possibly Masfield are also sometimes featured at these parties. The boy who works in the printing office prepares intermittently a club sheet, to which members contribute brief compositions, and which recounts athletic and other club exploits. Educationally such clubs represent a fertile field rather than developed organizations. Most of them would welcome adult leadership capable of suggesting activities that would make the clubs more worthwhile to the individual members or add prestige in the eyes of rival groups, provided, of course, that the leaders were interested in stimulating club activities rather than in regulating them.

More than two hundred of these clubs have been organized under the auspices of the People's Institute of Brooklyn, into athletic leagues, and arrangements have been made for them to use public school buildings for athletic purposes.

A few such clubs that do not have their own rooms hold meetings in public school community centers, advancing a small deposit to insure proper care of the rooms. When adult community service comes to be taken seriously into account in the planning of public school buildings, small attractive rooms for the use of clubs and study groups will undoubtedly be provided.

A quite different sort of independent young men's club

with a self-conscious intellectualistic bias is represented in the Quiblerus Club. The name is a parody on the Scriblerus Club of the associates of Jonathan Swift. The emblem, which appears on the lower left corner of the club stationery, represents two scolding cockatoos. The club, most of whose members are Jewish, has a private room in the Brownsville section. About half of the members are college graduates. A few paintings by one of the members who is an artist of unusual talent give a distinguished character to the otherwise rather shabby quarters. Here on Sunday afternoons members read papers on politics, economics, ethics, art, or scientific topics. On the afternoon when the representative of the Conference called, two different papers, one on the economics of consumption and the other on the history of censorship, were read, illustrated by original charts. Lively debates followed among the members and feminine guests who were also present and invited to participate.

In a center such as the Y.M.C.A. where there is a vigorous common interest in education a variety of spontaneous clubs may be found, many of them having a definitely educational character. For example, among the members of the Brooklyn Central Branch Y.M.C.A. there are approximately 300 organized groups of young men and boys. Not all of these are educational in any common interpretation of the word, but many of them are. Those of general but definitely educational purpose include: the Psychology Club; Industrial Club, made up largely of foremen; Compass Club, with vocational emphasis; Cosmopolitan Club; Members' Forum, conducting semi-public political, social and economic discussions; Literary and Debating Society; Vagabond Club, a hiking and sightseeing group; and various special short term discussion groups centering around personal problems, of

health, sex, vocational adjustment and religion. There are several others which aim toward development of specific skills such as the Rifle Club, Riding Club, Dancing Club, Dramatic Club, Glee and Banjo Clubs, and the whole range of the physical development groupings. There are others of almost purely social character as well as the Dormitory Floor Clubs and the Physical Department Clubs with program planning and administrative functions in which, however, there are definite educational values.

The Brooklyn Nature Club is an independent educational organization, formed without any institutional promotion but holding its indoor monthly meetings at the Children's Museum. It is composed largely of young people from twenty-five to thirty years old, including a number of young married couples, but it also includes a number of older members. The members conduct nature study programs on a high level, usually with outside lecturers, report field observations and experiments, and arrange frequent excursions in line with the purpose of the club. This group appears among the Yosians, sponsored by the Nature Study Editor of the *New York Evening World*, whose notices were posted in each Friday's editions. These Yosian clubs are all spontaneous groups, except for the encouragement extended by *The World*, but their character varies from organizations with serious nature study interests to those in which purely social motives predominate. Incidentally it may be noted that a majority of the members of the Brooklyn Nature Club stated that their interest in nature study dated to early childhood. This is in line with the report received from art groups, but in striking contrast to the situation among those especially interested in social problems.

Among the women's clubs a very definite shift of em-



phasis is taking place, which some may view with favor and others with regret. Clubs for the study of Shakespeare, Browning, or classical art are giving way to organizations of a civic or promotional character, such as the League of Women Voters or the National Council of Jewish Women. This is, of course, an expression of the transition in women's interests from exclusive concern with home and cultural values to a larger participation in public affairs. Some clubs, such as the Civitas Club, combine civic and artistic interests. This club holds one or two meetings on outstanding civic changes but spends most of its time in the world of ideas. It endeavors to keep its members in touch with advance thought in fields of general interest. For several years it has held to one general theme throughout the year's program and tried to coördinate all the meetings under this topic. One year the club made a study of each member's leisure-time by questionnaire and time-schedule methods, with interesting results.

The Brooklyn Section of the National Council of Jewish Women has become one of the most important agencies in the development of adult education in this region. In addition to its work in immigrant education and parental education, described in other sections, it has a Department of Education for the Blind, conducts classes for women in parliamentary law, and stimulates a variety of educational activities in Jewish circles.

The Brooklyn League of Women Voters is a branch of the New York City League and is part of the National League of Women Voters. "It concentrates on political education, having been organized in 1920, after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, with the purpose of helping the newly enfranchised women to use the ballot intelligently. It carries on its work by means of pub-



lication of literature and the organization of group discussions, classes, round tables, citizenship schools, and institutes of government and politics. The work is intensified but generally thorough. As subjects for school and study-group programs, questions at issue in elections and questions growing out of international relations and affecting world peace are most popular. Next are taxation and budget-making, tariff and living costs, methods of public administration, child labor, Congress and state legislatures, the merit system, legislation and social progress, schools, immigration, law enforcement and the short ballot." During the past four years the New York City League has conducted four two-day conferences on public affairs, attended by five hundred women. "The literature of the League is as a whole sophisticated and admirably done; it has substance; and it is well adapted to the needs of the layman and non-student, without any dilution of content. The same may be said of the work of the League of Women Voters as a whole. It is not, of course, of uniform grade. Much depends on variable local factors: the kind of community, the kind of population, and the personality of the leaders. What is most important as a criterion is that a conscious effort is made to set and maintain a standard. The best of the publications and the best administered of the institutes show toward what the League is aiming. Finally, the League is limited as an educational factor, consciously so. It is at the most an agency of political education, but within those self-imposed limitations a competent agency." \*

The Brooklyn Alliance of Women's Clubs among its constituent societies includes 3,500 members in clubs that

\* Quoted in part from "New Schools for Older Students," by Nathaniel Peffer, 1930, Macmillan, N. Y.

are primarily literary in character, 500 in church benevolent societies, and 1,000 in civic or political clubs. The largest membership is still found in the first category, but, significantly, the usual age distribution is stated as 35 to 70 in the first two categories, but 25 to 50 in the last.

In this connection it is interesting to note that entrance of women into political activity may lead to further emphasis on educational work even on the part of traditional political organizations. At any rate, due to women's influence, the Madison Club, the most powerful Democratic organization in Brooklyn, has recently introduced a series of fairly objective lectures at monthly "educational nights," dealing principally with the functions of different departments of the city government. In a recent article in *The New Republic* the thesis was developed that, with notable exceptions such as the League of Women Voters, women's groups are not prepared for critical participation in these new fields of action and easily become the tool of special interests. This is probably true, but the ultimate solution can only lie in more extensive study of civic problems, and women's clubs will undoubtedly play a very important part in working out this solution.

In a population with such strong neighborhood consciousness as Brooklyn, sectional civic councils play an important part in the formation and expression of community interests. The Brooklyn Civic Council, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, is a clearing house of such organizations, and reflects in its discussions the interests of the constituent groups.

The possibility of the coöperation of social research agencies with such councils in objective studies of community interests and in the development of community

educational programs may be remote but it is nevertheless fascinating. Here is a group of indigenous quasi-political bodies, composed of the rather more progressive citizens of different sections. Such bodies are capable of important political and educational significance.

The Community Service League, on Eastern Parkway, deserves special mention as an attempt to establish, in a building devoted entirely to this purpose, an independent neighborhood center for educational purposes, purely local in inception, leadership and support. The League originated in the unification of several public school parent associations in that district.

Such a brief survey of spontaneous cultural groups in Brooklyn is obviously very partial and sketchy. The foreign language organizations, forums, little theaters, professional societies and many other important groups have been omitted from the picture. It must be admitted, however, that spontaneous intellectual developments are not, and could hardly be expected to be, very extensive in Brooklyn. "Folk movements" do not characterize heterogeneous, rapidly shifting populations, where economic and political life is highly organized. Informal educational activities may be the most vital phase of adult education, but even informal education needs concerted planning and systematic development if it is to reach very far in such an area.

#### THE HEBREW EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY—AN EXAMPLE OF A COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL CENTER

Any one who enters the building of the Hebrew Educational Center, in the crowded Brownsville district, is immediately conscious of coming upon a scene of lively activity. The music of an orchestra, rehearsing on the third floor, may be heard through the halls. Study groups



made up of young people and clubs of all ages are in session every evening in the small classrooms. Boys and girls, young people and old pass in and out to the gymnasium or to club or class meetings. Nine different classes in English meet here twice each week under the joint auspices of the Council of Jewish Women and the New York City Board of Education. The evening classes in English which formerly met at the Center are now held in a near-by public school. During the last year a series of seven lectures for women were given under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Women and Council on Adult Education for the Foreign-Born, before audiences averaging about 400. There are regular Sunday evening forums. Altogether the attendance at activities each week averages about 3,000.

The individuals enrolled in clubs and classes in 1929-30 were distributed as follows, as regards age and sex:

| AGES           | MALE  | FEMALE | TOTAL |
|----------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Under 10 ..... | 95    | 83     | 178   |
| 10-15 .....    | 314   | 391    | 705   |
| 15-20 .....    | 253   | 189    | 442   |
| 20-30 .....    | 421   | 496    | 917   |
| Over 30 .....  | 50    | 404    | 454   |
|                | 1,133 | 1,563  | 2,696 |

The formal educational work includes a Department of Jewish Studies, with twelve classes on religious, literary and historical themes. There are also classes in music and music appreciation, drawing, art appreciation, psychology, dramatics, child study and economics.

The work of the society is subsidized by the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, but over one-third of the total budget is supplied through registration and tuition fees.



The diversified age distribution and range of activities, athletic, social and religious, culminating in an educational program, is highly significant. Such figures give evidence of vital personality development in thousands of boys, girls and adults through a program of activities that takes account of the variety of human interests and gradually and effectively stimulates those that are of the most worth.

#### EXTENT AND VALUE OF EXISTING INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The general extent of membership in informal educational organizations is fairly well gauged by replies received to the one-page questionnaire sent to parents of public school children in six districts. Among a total of 1,267 replies there were 58 (about 5 per cent) who supplied information in answer to the request, "If you have ever been a member of any study group or club having an educational program, please give the name of the group or club and place of meeting." Types of organizations mentioned several times in these replies were: parent organizations, 10; religious institutions, 12; neighborhood centers, 6; scientific societies, 4; Y.M. or Y.W.C.A., 4; professional associations, 3; workmen's circles, 3; literary societies, 2.

The data collected on the main question afford evidence that the members of clubs having educational programs enjoy a superior range of leisure-time interests and intellectual pursuits. However, in as much as the members of such organizations have a higher average educational status it may be argued that participation in informal educational activities is incidental to the quality of their cultural interests rather than a contributing factor. The evidence in itself, of course, proves only the relationship.

TABLE XIX

FREQUENCY OF HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE EDUCATION, ADULT STUDY AND CERTAIN LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES IN  
RELATION TO MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS, AMONG TOTAL SAMPLE INCLUDING ADULT STUDENTS

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | DESCRIPTION OF GROUP                                            | PERCENTAGES OF NON-MEMBERS AND MEMBERS WHO REPORT VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL LEVELS<br>AND LEISURE-TIME INTERESTS |                        |                                        |                 |                       |           |                                                               |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|                         |                                                                 | High School<br>Four Years                                                                                  | College,<br>Four Years | Courses Since<br>Leaving<br>Day School | Frequent Use of |                       |           | Reading of<br>Philos.,<br>Religion,<br>Science or<br>Politics |
|                         |                                                                 |                                                                                                            |                        |                                        | Art<br>Museums  | Nat. Hist.<br>Museums | Libraries |                                                               |
| 3,144                   | Persons without club<br>affiliation .....                       | 26                                                                                                         | 7                      | 47                                     | 8               | 11                    | 30        | 38                                                            |
| 899                     | Members of clubs<br>without educational<br>programs, only ..... | 27                                                                                                         | 7                      | 50                                     | 7               | 13                    | 31        | 46                                                            |
| 594                     | Members of clubs hav-<br>ing educational pro-<br>grams .....    | 33                                                                                                         | 10                     | 63                                     | 13              | 15                    | 42        | 57                                                            |

It is, however, fair to assume that membership in organizations that afford intellectual stimulation, although perhaps in the first instance a result of previous educational experience, reacts in turn in the quickening of new interests.

#### CHURCHES AS COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

As the emphasis in popular interests shifts from supernatural and esoteric to empirical social and personal values, traditional religious institutions, recognizing their responsibilities to a new order, may become important centers of informal juvenile and adult education. Such a development would be in line with a philosophical conception of religion as "the conservation of values," and from a social standpoint it would lead to the development of these institutions as agencies of progressive culture.

This line of development is unmistakably present among liberal Jewish synagogues and among some Protestant churches, although it has scarcely affected some denominations. Questionnaires on this subject addressed to Brooklyn religious institutions drew 13 replies from 113 letters addressed to Jewish organizations, 3 replies from 73 letters addressed to Catholic organizations, and 31 replies from Protestant churches. Among the 13 Jewish organizations that replied 12 reported non-sectarian educational programs in addition to more definitely religious activities, and 22 of the 31 Protestant churches made similar report. Among these 22 Protestant churches, 15 had provisions for the study of social and economic problems; 7 were interested in the promotion of dramatics; and others mentioned classes in French, English for immigrants, literature and philosophy. These returns

although small in number probably give a fair idea of major trends among the more progressive Jewish and Protestant organizations.

The Roman Catholic Church, as is well known, is interested in academic schools under ecclesiastical auspices and, through the Knights of Columbus, in vocational education. The Catholic churches in Brooklyn, however, do not for the most part engage in vigorous community educational programs of a secular type, such as forums, social problems clubs, literary guilds, and so forth. An official interpretation of the attitude of Catholic churches in the Diocese of Brooklyn is given in the following communication from the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Diocese of Brooklyn: "The Catholic Church works generally through its school system in giving educational opportunities. The philosophy of education which fathers that system requires the linking of the religious formation with the development of secular knowledge and skills even in the adult. . . . We never end our training with any class of people in the ever-important field of religion. As to formal work of a completed educational character, embracing both the secular and the religious sides, our only agency for adult education besides our Catholic colleges is the extension work done by St. John's College. . . . The Columbus Council through lectures and over the air is doing much for the culture of our Catholic adults. In a less publicly-known manner the same is true of every branch of the Knights of Columbus."

The possibilities and perhaps at the same time the possible limitations of the contributions by churches of orthodox tradition as to the development of community educational programs is revealed by an analysis of the educational work of one active church. The St. Mark's



Methodist Episcopal Church in Flatbush, a growing and vigorous institution having a membership of 1,500, may be selected, although several others would perhaps serve the purpose equally well. Last winter this church conducted its "First Annual Mid-Winter Institute" during February and March. Four alternative courses of six sessions each under varied leadership were arranged. The programs for these courses were announced as follows:

*Course A. Young People's Problems.* What will happen if I break the Commandments? How long shall I go to school? How shall I select my vocation? Where does morality end and prudery begin? What shall I believe about religion? Whom shall I marry?

*Course B. How to Teach Religion.* The teacher himself. Aims in teaching religion. Knowledge to be given and attitudes to be cultivated. Connecting religious instruction with life and conduct. The organization of material and the lesson plan. The technique.

*Course C. Marriage, the Family and Home.* The technique of staying married. How can I make my children understand God? Financing the family. Personal problems. What shall I teach my children about the Bible, prayer, and religious beliefs?

*Course D. Layman's Reading Course.* The Christ of every road. Our economic morality. Man's social destiny. Prohibition—an adventure in freedom. Science and religion. Jesus or Christianity.

There were general addresses, following the class meetings, on these topics: Are you a machine? Abraham Lincoln. Our economic morality. Achievements toward peace. Shall we abolish foreign missions?—and a St. Mark's Loyalty Dinner and Symposium. The schedule for each evening of the institute included dinner, devotions around tables, classes, address, and informal reception. It is obvious that these courses have a strong traditional religious content, but it is equally obvious that

they are oriented in relation to the personal, economic and social tendencies of the modern world. The arrangement of topics is rather desultory. Such programs are clearly designed to be stimulating and popular in character rather than systematic and intensive. Personal and social features are emphasized.

Similar interests run through the programs of the associated organizations. The Men's Club listens to a lecture on Prison Outbreaks, Causes and Solutions, by Dr. Frank Morris, or joins with other associations in a banquet addressed by Bishop McConnell. The Business and Professional Women's Club entertains the Director of Extension Service from the Brooklyn Public Library on one occasion, and the Director of Willoughby House Settlement on another. There is also a Mothers' Club, interested in the discussion of parental problems. At the Young People's Epworth League and at the St. Mark's Forum, both of which meet one hour before the regular Sunday evening service, the topics for discussion cover such themes as "The Modern Woman, Is her freedom detrimental to herself and humanity?" "Russia, why and whither?" "What men live by," and "Why are we good?"

A more unusual type of church educational program with the emphasis placed on artistic activities of a remarkably high order is maintained by the Church of the Neighbor (Swedenborgian). Small exhibits, over three-week periods, are housed successively in the gallery of the Neighborhood House. Receptions in connection with these exhibits are tendered the artists. The bookshop and the library are devoted primarily to religious and artistic works. There are a number of rare volumes in the library. Sunday afternoon organ recitals are given during the winter months. There are popular mid-week neighbors' nights with lectures and informal discussions. But the outstand-

ing organization of this institution is the Neighborhood Players, the most serious purely local little theater group in Brooklyn. The Neighborhood Club has the advantage in this connection of a delightful dramatic workshop, good stage and stage properties. The Players describe their purpose thus: "To give drama with a literary quality, acted and staged with sincerity and artistic simplicity; to encourage the creative spirit of the players themselves; to perpetuate in Brooklyn a children's theater."

Another unusual program of educational services, this time in the field of social relations, has been developed by the Church of the Holy Trinity (Episcopalian). One or two Sunday evenings each month are given over to forum discussions of the most lively and progressive character. The Race Relations Committee of the church has been giving its attention during the present year in a very practical way to the employment problem faced by educated negroes. Another committee has been investigating conditions of employment in neighborhood grocery stores. Similar interests run through the Men's Fellowship, and the Luncheon Forum, the Employment Society, Pension Committee, and the League for Peace.

The Ethical Culture Society of Brooklyn represents a type of religious organization wherein the effort is centered in educational work. In addition to maintaining the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School, and in addition to regular services of the Society in which the emphasis is definitely educational, there are several discussion groups and classes of a high order. The Women's Union meets fortnightly for book study. The Men's Club, which meets monthly, is devoted to the discussion of social and personal ethical problems. The Young People's Association meets fortnightly for discussion of literature, drama and social problems. Each year the leader offers a systematic



course in some phase of World Literature, such as Greek Plays (1928-29), Plato (1929-30), Hindu Literature (1930-31). The reader will notice the disproportionate representation of members of the Ethical Culture Society appearing among Brooklyn subscribers to four periodicals who answered the Conference social problems questionnaire.<sup>2</sup>

Enough has been reported to show that many religious institutions are experimenting actively with various sorts of educational programs. These services are, for the most part, naturally limited to parish membership, but in some cases the more secular activities are largely divorced from strictly religious functions.

It is probable that an analysis of church constituencies would show a high correlation between the presence or lack of significant educational features in parish programs and the intellectual character of the individual members. The data on hand in the present study does not, of course, provide the material for such a correlation. The evidence regarding adult study and cultural interests in relation to major religious affiliations, however, may be tabulated as follows:

TABLE XX  
PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS, OR OF NONE, REPORTING SCHOOLING SUPPLEMENTARY TO REGULAR DAY SCHOOLING

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | RELIGIOUS<br>AFFILIATION | REGULAR<br>SCHOOLING<br>TAKEN AT<br>NIGHT | ATTENDANCE<br>AT CLASS IN<br>ENGLISH FOR<br>FOREIGN-BORN | ATTENDANCE<br>AT OTHER<br>COURSES OF<br>ADULT STUDY<br>SINCE REGU-<br>LAR DAY<br>SCHOOLING |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                         |                          | Per cent                                  | Per cent                                                 | Per cent                                                                                   |
| 471                     | Jewish .....             | 35                                        | 16                                                       | 43                                                                                         |
| 1,380                   | Catholic .....           | 13                                        | 17                                                       | 40                                                                                         |
| 980                     | Protestant .....         | 17                                        | 4                                                        | 57                                                                                         |
| 170                     | None (so stated) ..      | 21                                        | 14                                                       | 34                                                                                         |

<sup>2</sup> See Table XXII.



TABLE XXI

PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS, OR OF NONE, REPORTING CERTAIN LEISURE-TIME INTERESTS

| NUMBER<br>OF<br>PERSONS | RELIGIOUS<br>AFFILIATION | FREQUENT USE OF |                               |           | Attendance at<br>drama and<br>concerts | Participation<br>in artistic<br>activities | Reading in<br>philosophy,<br>religion or sc. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
|                         |                          | Art<br>Museums  | Natural<br>History<br>Museums | Libraries |                                        |                                            |                                              |
|                         |                          | Per cent        | Per cent                      | Per cent  | Per<br>cent                            | Per<br>cent                                | Per<br>cent                                  |
| 471                     | Jewish .....             | 10              | 13                            | 50        | 59                                     | 38                                         | 47                                           |
| 1,380                   | Catholic .....           | 5               | 10                            | 23        | 33                                     | 28                                         | 30                                           |
| 980                     | Protestant .....         | 9               | 14                            | 32        | 50                                     | 40                                         | 48                                           |
| 170                     | None (so stated)         | 9               | 9                             | 40        | 51                                     | 25                                         | 38                                           |

It is interesting to observe, as between Jews and Protestants, that a much larger percentage of Jews take regular academic courses at night and a much larger percentage of Protestants take special short courses largely vocational in character. It is impossible to say definitely about causal relationships between the informal educational work of religious organizations and the intellectual interests of the constituent members, but it is probable that there is a two-way relationship between institutional programs and individual interests.

In the field of social science the relationship between adult interest and religious affiliation may be judged by analyses of the church associations of Brooklyn subscribers to four journals of opinion who answered the questionnaire on the subject of adult study of social problems. Sixty per cent of these persons indicated religious affiliation of some sort. Several important qualifications must be taken into account in interpreting these facts. In the first place there are a number of religious periodicals such as *America*, *The Christian Century*, and the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches that to a con-

siderable extent take the place in church circles of the magazines whose subscribers were circularized by the Conference. Another social theory journal having a radical tendency, *The World Tomorrow*, has intimate contact with church groups. On the other hand, the editorial outlook of at least two of the journals selected might be fairly regarded as distinctly non-ecclesiastical if not anti-ecclesiastical. Nevertheless, the variation from the religious distribution of the total population on the part of this group is significant, remembering that the group is representative of persons subscribing to selected outstanding journals of political, economic and social discussion, and, within this number, of the ten per cent who had enough interest in social problems to recognize the questionnaire as applicable to themselves, to fill it out and return it to the Conference. Since all the returns used were well filled out in other respects, failure to reply to the question regarding religious affiliation must be recognized as significant rather than accidental. Moreover, one in six of these reporting Jewish or Protestant affiliation explicitly qualify their statements by saying that they are not now actively interested in religious affairs.

TABLE XXII

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO BROOKLYN CONFERENCE  
SOCIAL PROBLEMS QUESTIONNAIRE

| NUMBER | SOURCE                   | JEWISH | CATHOLIC | PROTESTANT | ETHICAL CULTURE | MISCELLANEOUS | NONE OR NO ANSWER |
|--------|--------------------------|--------|----------|------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 55     | <i>New Republic</i> ...  | 11     | 3        | 17         | 1               | 0             | 23                |
| 70     | <i>Survey</i> .....      | 11     | 2        | 41         | 1               | 2             | 13                |
| 120    | <i>Nation</i> .....      | 39     | 2        | 8          | 5               | 4             | 62                |
| 25     | <i>Review of Reviews</i> | 8      | 2        | 8          | 1               | 0             | 6                 |
| 270    |                          | 69     | 9        | 74         | 8               | 6             | 104               |

It is still quite impossible to predict to what extent churches may become important centers of informal cul-

tural education. Such organizations as the Religious Education Association are apparently in a position to make very important contributions to the development of adult education in America.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS POSSIBLE COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL  
CENTERS, AND RELATED COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL  
PROGRAMS

The value of community education in meeting the educational needs of immigrants, providing greater facilities for basic academic, commercial and technical studies for adults, and above all in developing adult minds commensurate with the cultural opportunities of urban life and the responsibilities of parenthood and citizenship has already been pointed out.

It is true that the young man or woman who wants a particular type of vocational training can probably find it somewhere—although he may have difficulty in finding it, unless it is of a common sort, and even then may fail to locate the school that could give the best answer to his particular need. The soul that thirsts after pure knowledge will find it. And one who wants to complete academic credits and earn a diploma written in Latin on parchment will likewise be able to find what he is seeking. These students with definite objectives do not usually need neighborhood service,—only 4 per cent of those stating reasons for not pursuing courses they would like to take specifically mention the factor of distance.

Neighborhood educational centers are needed rather to meet more general and less articulate needs. Such centers could be especially devoted to the development of popular courses, adapted to adult needs and interests, such as courses in parental education, psychology, hygiene, his-



tory, social problems, decorating and design, everyday law, and miscellaneous studies in science, philosophy, literature and art.

The potential popularity of such centers is shown by the replies received and the incidental remarks made by those who filled out the Conference questionnaire. This included the question, "What is your opinion about a suggestion that neighborhood educational centers should be developed to provide opportunities for study groups and small classes?" The response to this question was almost unanimously favorable. Less than 5 per cent expressed themselves as definitely opposed. Many, of course, were uncertain or indifferent; 18 per cent did not answer or stated that their attitude was doubtful, but 77 per cent gave an affirmative answer and many of these were enthusiastic. Forty-one per cent of those who expressed a choice as to location stated that they favored the development of such adult educational centers in public schools, in preference to other suggested options (public libraries, churches and synagogues, or special buildings erected for this purpose), and another 33 per cent designated public schools together with one or more alternatives—making a total of 74 per cent favorable to the use of public schools. Only 26 per cent gave a specific preference to any of the other alternatives. It is very probable that the recent development of community centers involving the frequent use of schools for occasional educational, athletic and social events has been important in the development of present attitudes.

Such centers might very advantageously be associated with community recreation centers. Increasing attention might also be given to adult needs and tastes in planning public school buildings, including the provision of attractive reception foyers and small rooms for clubs and



study groups. These centers would provide the natural meeting place of community councils and other neighborhood discussion groups. Eventually such a network of public educational, recreational and political centers would go far toward laying the foundations of an intelligent public consciousness and superior popular culture in America.

The experience of the People's Institute of Brooklyn in the development of informal educational programs for adults in public schools points in the same direction. Such an organization under private auspices but working in close coöperation with the public schools may play a very significant rôle in the courageous initiation of experimental programs. It sponsors formal classes in English and in cooking and sewing, organizes child study groups and informal reading clubs, and through intimate contact with neighborhood interests and municipal institutions is able to develop new types of coöperation between community groups and schools, libraries and museums. The local committees coöperating with the People's Institute have frequently been intermediate in character between civic organizations and strictly educational associations; but there is at present a trend toward emphasis upon the distinctly educational phases of this work. The success or failure of all such coöperative or independent community educational programs is usually determined in the long run by the quality of educational leadership available. This brings us to the issue on which final attention in this connection must be focused.

#### COLLEGIATE CENTERS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Colleges in the midst of populous cities may follow academic ways with only the most remote relationships with

the intellectual life of the areas in which they are located. Or the most vital interchange of services may take place to the mutual advantages of institutions of learning and community organizations.

One possibility here is the development under collegiate auspices of social research in relation to local needs and institutions. A vigorous social science educational center is sorely needed in Brooklyn, as several of the contributors to the symposium in the previous chapter point out. Such a center, following the line of development initiated by the social science departments at the University of Chicago, George Washington University, and other urban institutions might very well focus much of its attention on local problems, coöperating with local organizations in the conduct of such studies. This line of development would be most appropriate to Brooklyn because of the strength of local interests and the existence of a network of community organizations capable of being developed into effective agencies of social action and education. The adventure combines education and civic values. The scientific approach to regional problems provides a valuable approach to the study of larger public problems. And as Walter Lippmann demonstrated in his analysis of *Public Opinion*, social research undercuts the futile clash of conflicting systems of propaganda and provides an instrument of significant progress.

Another important service in a related field, which an urban collegiate center may render to the area in which it is located, is the establishment of a special bureau equipped to study the educational needs of community organizations and to recommend competent and available leaders. The service would involve consultation with community organizers on the value and feasibility of possible programs, and eventually the establishment of courses

for training leaders and perhaps field supervision of their efforts. The need and importance of such extra-mural academic service cannot be overstated. One important function of such a department might be to coöperate with business houses or sectarian organizations in the development of adult courses. The academic interest might aid in keeping such courses as free as possible from partisan bias. There is a very real likelihood that many more study groups might be developed under a variety of auspices if the proper leadership were available. The field needs the cultivation of an agency really interested in community movements, on the one hand, and in touch with a body of university graduates interested in education, on the other.

#### FOUR MAIN LINES OF ADVANCE IN ADULT EDUCATION

In general, the educational needs of adults seem to demand the progressive developments of four major types of educational institutions. These may be outlined as follows:

A. High schools, colleges, universities, social science centers, professional, industrial and business schools, *i.e.*, academic and vocational schools, adapted to the needs of individuals who have well defined educational objectives and who will seek out such schools for systematic study, usually with a definite view to individual advancement. —This is the field of adult education which has been most developed in this country. There are weak points in present institutional provisions in this field, some of which have been pointed out in this study. But in general the American public has come to recognize the values of this sort of adult education, and progressive educational institutions are alert to provide the needed facilities.



B. Newspapers, radio programs, libraries, museums, botanical gardens, lecture institutes, municipal concerts and other more or less impersonal instruments of mass cultures.—These agencies have vast importance, but their efficacy is dependent upon more intimate types of educational service which will develop the intellectual interests and critical judgment of individuals, so that they will select materials that have worth from the mass of cultural offerings constantly published, broadcast, presented or exhibited. In this connection the value of relating formal cultural programs to the cultural issues of everyday living also needs emphasis.

C. Public neighborhood educational centers for adults.—The suggestion looking toward the development of such schools is a fairly radical innovation in American adult education policy. The proposal is founded on the idea that the basic vocational and cultural needs of the adult population in American cities are so vast that an effective movement to meet these needs must involve the expenditure of public funds. And, secondly, it involves the assumption that many adults would respond favorably to educational programs especially designed to meet adult needs who would remain indifferent to the mere duplication in evening sessions of public school elementary formal academic curricula.

The favorable attitude of the Brooklyn population toward the establishment of such centers has already been described.

The plan looks toward the establishment at first of a few experimental public educational centers of this type; then, if the experiment proves successful, the development of such centers in many sections. The classes offered might include (1) general shop classes in amateur and semi-vocational crafts and machine operation, including



instruction in the fundamental principles of mechanics; <sup>3</sup> (2) basic academic and commercial courses, including the use of English, elementary mathematics, everyday law, and short courses in typing and shorthand; <sup>3</sup> (3) classes in English for the foreign-born; (4) courses in hygiene, cooking and nutrition, child psychology, children's literature and games, home decoration, sewing and clothing design; (5) history of the development of modern industrial organization, labor problems, international relations, history of the American, French and Russian revolutions, American Colonial history, or other courses along social lines; and (6) courses in modern novels, modern drama, art appreciation and music appreciation. Classes might very probably meet twice each week during the school year, or for a somewhat shorter period.

Associated provisions for recreation analogous to the present Board of Education Community Recreation Centers, with added facilities for independent clubs, civic associations, and study groups, and perhaps the establishment of branch public libraries at the same location, would serve to popularize these centers. Eventually, the day school buildings which are also to be used for adults might be especially constructed with reference to adult needs. Certainly proper seats would be essential from the start and small classrooms would be a great asset. A pleasant reception foyer would also be desirable.

It should be recognized that such a proposal involves serious difficulties. Offerings would need to be flexible to meet the interests of different neighborhoods. Educational leadership would be demanded with high academic qualifications, so as to command intellectual respect in the community and to insure high standards of teaching, and

<sup>3</sup> Pupils seeking specialized vocational courses would be referred to special industrial and commercial schools.

also with intangible personal factors such as imagination, initiative and tact which are not easily measured by civil service standards. It is quite possible that special training might be needed to prepare teachers for this work, as regards new types of subject matter and as regards methods of conducting adult classes on a voluntary basis. Moreover, it would be quite essential to maintain small classes, ranging from ten to twenty members, or at most thirty, to insure effective class participation by individual members who would come together perhaps twice each week for several months. And although it might be very wise to establish a low registration fee, as an index of serious purpose, the returns from such fees would cover only a small fraction of the expenses, and fairly liberal appropriations and administrative policy would be essential. Furthermore, it must be recognized that adults are less democratic than young people, and less ready to attend public centers for educational purposes, and the warrant of precedent and traditional drives would be lacking in this new field.

On the other hand there are possibilities of great social significance in such neighborhood educational centers for adults. It is true that in almost all other fields of education the greatest progress has come through the parallel development of public and private institutions. It is also true that in every European country in which adult education has become a vigorous popular movement, as in the case of the so-called folk-schools in Denmark, Scandinavia and Germany or the Workers' Education Association in England, the movement has been largely subsidized by public funds. These European movements are indigenous and dependent upon peculiar social conditions in each country; they cannot be copied in America. It is possible, however, that with the aid of substantial public

appropriations an extensive system of popular adult education may be developed in the United States.

In view of the serious difficulties but great possibilities in such a line of development it is recommended that the Board of Education of the City of New York, as an experiment, inaugurate a few such centers, in neighborhoods of different composition and with the allowance of considerable independence to the director and faculty of each center. It is suggested that four such centers authorized for five years would be sufficient to give the project a fair trial and to reveal its advantages, weaknesses, and conditions. The five-year provision would be quite essential. It would be fatal to expect definitive results within a year or two from such an adventure. In as much as the proposal comes from the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education, and in the light of the study of its local situation, it is recommended that these experimental centers be in four neighborhoods in Brooklyn.

D. Independent community centers, educational clubs, study groups, church educational programs and other informal activities.—At best, public schools for adults can offer fairly standardized courses, on a fairly uniform intellectual level. The intimacy of spontaneous group discussion, the social advantages of homogeneous groups, and comradeship of individuals knit together by like-mindedness, perhaps in the face of common opposition, are values that can seldom, if ever, be developed in public school programs.

The informal community programs reach below and above the possible educational services of public centers. Such programs, on the one hand, may attract the attention of young men and women and older people, too, in clubs and other natural groups who might turn a deaf ear to anything that smacked of a formal educational pro-



gram. On the other hand, the discussion of personal and philosophical problems and of highly controversial political problems will always need to be developed outside of official circles. As regards controversial problems much can be done under public auspices, as now in high schools and colleges, by factual presentation and the objective analysis of differing theories and points of view. Nevertheless, the most far-reaching popular influences and the most experimental types of community education need independent cultivation.

Advance in adult education in institutions of these four main types would be mutually complementary. The complementary character of facilities for mass culture and educational work with individuals has been especially stressed in this discussion. The dependence of both public and independent community educational work upon leadership developed in collegiate centers is reciprocated by the stimulus given through such centers to ambitious and capable men and women to pursue more advanced lines of study in academic and professional schools. The field for the development of adult minds, in all aspects of metropolitan life, is a broad one. There is need for many different types of effort, including the extensive promotion of fairly standardized and proved educational methods and constant experimentation with new methods and values. We need large educational systems to meet the needs of a vast population as well as intellectual experiments that follow uncharted and adventurous courses.

#### PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The development of the minds of individuals, including the training of vocational abilities and the cultivation of esthetic tastes, commands universal recognition as funda-



mental to the development of the good life of persons. It is also essential to the development of national character and intelligence, which are the ultimate foundations of national security and social progress.

The highest educational values in the adult field as well as in the juvenile field are dependent on philanthropic and state support. In general, people will pay for types of education which lead to quick pecuniary returns or which answer to hobbies or interests that are already well developed. Where the public interest dictates the advisability of education along broader lines, some subsidy, either by the government, by other agencies, or by individuals is essential. The individual will pay for training which he recognizes to fit his individual needs. Education for social welfare must be subsidized by social funds. And in the long run there is perhaps no better investment of such funds. This principle has been recognized in dealing with persons who may be sixteen or twenty or thirty years of age, provided they do nothing but study. No one expects the high school student or the college student or the advanced professional student to cover the expenses of his education by his own tuition fees. There is no reason why equal liberty should not be practiced in the education, along socially useful lines, of persons who want to study while they work, whether they be sixteen or twenty or thirty or sixty.

The distinction between juvenile and adult education, so far as the functions of the state are concerned, is artificial. It rests upon nothing but an unimaginative interpretation of a very recent tradition. If it is sound policy to spend public funds in the education of children, it is sound policy to spend such funds in the education of adults, provided the lines of proposed adult education are soundly conceived and prove effective in practice. Even

the argument that "the first responsibility" of the state in education is for the young, when analyzed, proves empty.

The purpose of government is the good life of the citizens, and education is an essential instrument toward that end. But the development of the minds of individuals, the training of all as productive workers, and the cultivation of an appreciative grasp of the possibilities of human living is only in small part the function of the state. The more imaginative aspects of education must be developed in a variety of spontaneous social groups and institutions.

Adult education leads on limitlessly, to use the phrase of Whitman, toward the progress of souls. In the lines of America's most original son:

"All parts for the progress of Souls,

All religion, all solid things, arts, governments—all that was or is apparent upon this globe or any globe, fall into niches and corners before the procession of Souls along the grand roads of the universe.

Of the progress of the Souls of men and women along the grand roads of the universe, all other progress is the needed emblem and substance."

## APPENDIX

### I. STATEMENT OF METHOD

The principal procedures followed in the study may be outlined as follows:

A. A general form was prepared comprising 94 question-elements grouped under 16 headings. This was intended primarily as a form for recording information gathered in brief interviews, lasting from fifteen to forty minutes, but also for use as a self-administering questionnaire where education and coöperation were sufficient to warrant this procedure. Information was sought as regards amount of schooling, use of libraries, museums, etc., occupation and attitude toward work, leisure-time interests, language spoken as a child, courses taken since leaving day school, opinions on the subject of adult education, and record of age, sex, and marital conditions. The questions focused about three main topics: educational experience, vocational adjustment, and free-time activities.

Returns were collected both from persons enrolled in various adult student groups, and from persons in the population at large, outside of special student groups, as such. A total of 4,639 usable returns on this main Conference questionnaire were collected, whereof 2,390 were drawn from the general population outside of adult student groups. The returns were codified in the Conference office, and were sent to the Columbia University Statistical Bureau for machine tabulation.

Approximately one thousand individuals were personally interviewed by staff members, usually at their place of work, on company time, through arrangements with commercial and in-

dustrial concerns, and their replies to the questions were recorded on the question-form; three field workers devoted their time during one to three weeks in house-to-house interviews; several student groups and friends of the Conference voluntarily conducted interviews among their acquaintances or on the basis of lists provided by the Conference office; members of the Conference staff spoke at organization meetings on the purposes of the study and asked those present to fill out questionnaires; and other organizations coöperated in the circularization of the questionnaire to persons who completed the answers and mailed them to the Conference.

In order to obtain information from students now enrolled in adult education courses, the Conference arranged for the circulation of the questionnaire among various adult student groups, collecting 2,249 schedules from these sources. Representatives of part-time student groups, enrolled in Brooklyn educational institutions, were selected as follows:

|                                                                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| College of the City of New York, Brooklyn Branch .....                              | 300 |
| Hunter College, Brooklyn Branch .....                                               | 100 |
| Long Island College Hospital, student nurses .....                                  | 100 |
| Neighborhood Teacher Association .....                                              | 200 |
| New York City Board of Education:                                                   |     |
| Compulsory continuation schools .....                                               | 299 |
| Evening elementary schools, classes in English for<br>the Foreign-born .....        | 200 |
| Evening elementary schools, classes in the Common<br>Branches .....                 | 100 |
| Evening high schools .....                                                          | 210 |
| Evening trade and technical classes .....                                           | 229 |
| New York Police College .....                                                       | 150 |
| Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn .....                                             | 100 |
| Pratt Institute:                                                                    |     |
| School of Fine and Applied Arts .....                                               | 44  |
| School of Science and Technology .....                                              | 100 |
| Seth Low Junior College, Columbia University Extension<br>Classes in Brooklyn ..... | 69  |
| Young Men's Christian Association .....                                             | 48  |

The schedules collected through the Police College are the only group drawn from outside of Brooklyn. For this reason



this lot of 150 is frequently not included in analyses of the total sample.

All returns, except the groups selected as representative of educational institutions, were collected without reference to the education of the subjects since leaving day school. In some cases, however, where forms were distributed to a club or group of employees in such a way that coöperation was optional, or where the group approached was subjected to special educational influences, as, for example, young men in a Y. M. C. A. dormitory, it is impossible to know to what extent the returns are biased in favor of education, i.e., representative of persons more interested in education than the general run of persons in the occupational groups to which they belong.

On the other hand, where employees, selected at random, were interviewed systematically at their place of work, or where interviews were secured through house-to-house calls in a variety of neighborhoods, returns were obtained which may be accepted as free from any bias as regards the presence or absence of interest in adult education. Eleven hundred and sixty-six returns (called our "random sample") were secured in this way. This limited sample may be accepted as roughly representative of the whole population for purposes of estimating the extent of and interest in adult education. It contains, however, a larger number of men than women, 744 to 422, and is in other ways irregular. The distribution by age is as follows: persons 16-20 years of age, 152; 21-25 years, 277; 25-30 years, 182; 31-40 years, 268; 41-59 years, 230; over 60 years, 20; age not stated, 37. The distribution according to religious affiliation runs as follows: Jewish, 155; Catholic, 511; Protestant, 205; all others, 12; no religion, 89; no answer to question regarding denominational preference, 194. The distribution by occupational classes for this random sample, classifying each homemaker in the occupational class of the person earning the money income of the family, is as follows: unskilled workers, 112; small shopkeepers, 70; semi-skilled workers, 331; skilled workers, 171; clerical workers (includ-

ing salespeople), 318; foremen and supervisors, 29; business administrators, 58; professional workers, 41; unclassified, 36.

The occupational distribution for the whole collection is given in the following table:

TABLE XXIII  
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF ALL PERSONS (4,639) GIVING INFORMATION ON MAIN CONFERENCE QUESTIONNAIRE (THROUGH INTERVIEWS OR WRITTEN REPLIES)

| OCCUPATIONAL GROUP                                     | EXCLUSIVE OF RETURNS FROM ADULT STUDENT GROUPS | RETURNS FROM ADULT STUDENT GROUPS | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Men</i>                                             |                                                |                                   |       |
| Unskilled workers .....                                | 99                                             | 150                               | 249   |
| Semi-skilled workers .....                             | 279                                            | 229                               | 508   |
| Skilled workers (mechanics, etc.) .....                | 230                                            | 240                               | 470   |
| Clerical workers (including salesmen) ..               | 290                                            | 526                               | 816   |
| Petty shopmen .....                                    | 60                                             | 3                                 | 63    |
| Policemen .....                                        | 0                                              | 150                               | 150   |
| Foremen and supervisors .....                          | 60                                             | 20                                | 80    |
| Business administrators .....                          | 150                                            | 29                                | 179   |
| Teachers .....                                         | 80                                             | 171                               | 361   |
| Other professional workers .....                       | 110                                            |                                   |       |
| Unclassified .....                                     | 13                                             | 50                                | 63    |
| Total .....                                            | 1,371                                          | 1,568                             | 2,939 |
| <i>Women</i>                                           |                                                |                                   |       |
| Homemakers .....                                       |                                                |                                   |       |
| Persons engaged in domestic and personal service ..... | 300                                            | 320                               | 620   |
| Industrial workers, etc. ....                          | 60                                             | 26                                | 86    |
| Clerical workers (including saleswomen) ..             | 100                                            | 99                                | 199   |
| Business administrators .....                          | 335                                            | 158                               | 493   |
| Teachers .....                                         | 70                                             | 14                                | 84    |
| Other professional workers .....                       | 80                                             | 50                                | 197   |
| Unclassified .....                                     | 67                                             |                                   |       |
| Total .....                                            | 7                                              | 14                                | 21    |
| Total .....                                            | 1,019                                          | 681                               | 1,700 |

B. A brief questionnaire was sent to parents through children in six public schools, selected so as to be representative of a variety of economic and racial groups. Twelve thousand

of these "public school questionnaires" were sent to school offices, 2,000 to each school, for distribution. About 10,000 were actually passed out to pupils. The pupils were allowed to return the forms in sealed envelopes. Undoubtedly some of these questionnaires were thrown away or returned unanswered without even being shown to parents. Answers were received from 1,267 parents or other adults. In some cases, the parents did not answer because they were indifferent or suspicious. In other cases, parents may have failed to reply because they lacked interest in education or felt that they had nothing worth while to report or were unable to read and write. Much depended on the coöperation of teachers in different schools. It is probable that in most cases parents conformed simply as a matter of school coöperation, so that the returns are fairly representative of the adult population at large.

C. Information regarding educational programs and policies was collected informally and through questionnaire-returns from 15 industrial and commercial organizations, 46 religious institutions, and 60 social, political or informal educational organizations.

D. A special questionnaire regarding the origin of interest in economic, social and political problems was sent to Brooklyn subscribers of four leading journals of opinion, namely:

|                                    | FORMS SENT | USABLE REPLIES<br>RECEIVED |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| <i>The New Republic</i> .....      | 375        | 55                         |
| <i>The Nation</i> .....            | 1,000      | 120                        |
| <i>The Review of Reviews</i> ..... | 1,000      | 25                         |
| <i>The Survey</i> .....            | 407        | 70                         |
| Total .....                        | 2,782      | 270                        |

E. Information regarding the formation of artistic interests was collected from 50 members of art societies. In addition, 156 visitors to the Brooklyn Museum were interviewed, as they were about to leave, regarding their reasons for coming to the museum and their experiences there.

F. Replies regarding sources of information about the nur-



ture and care of children were collected from 500 parents; 300 of these were selected for analysis, from the following sources:

|                                                         |       |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Public School Parent Associations .....                 | 60    |
| Department of Health Baby Station, Navy Yard District.. | 60    |
| Miscellaneous (house-to-house) .....                    | 60    |
| Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.....  | 60    |
| Child Study Association of America .....                | 30    |
| Kindergarten Mothers' Clubs .....                       | 20    |
| Parents' League .....                                   | 10    |
|                                                         | <hr/> |
|                                                         | 300   |

G. Special interviews were conducted with 415 petitioners for naturalization as United States citizens from non-English-speaking countries about their experiences in learning English. These were all applicants for their final papers. Such application involves at least five years' residence in the United States and alleged ability to read English. According to the Naturalization Office about 50 per cent of such petitioners for citizenship at the Brooklyn office are accepted. One hundred of those reporting attendance at public school classes in English were given a disguised reading test.

H. The director and other members of the research staff visited educational institutions, especially those of an experimental character, and discussed adult education informally with educators and with laymen representing a wide variety of social interests. In addition to such informal interviews, a total of 7,318 documents, as reported in the preceding paragraphs, were collected and analyzed in the course of the study.

I. The report as originally submitted by the director was studied by the members of the Study Committee. Each member prepared a list of criticisms, with reference both to facts and to interpretations. The committee then met in conference with the director and these criticisms were discussed until substantial agreement was reached among the members of the committee and the director on all important points. The text was then revised by the director in the light of these discus-



sions and decisions. In his opinion the report has been very greatly improved by this conference procedure. After approval by the Study Committee the final Report of the Research Director was then referred to the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education.

## II. SOME SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of the different needs in the field of adult education in this area which have come to light in the course of this study may be summarized in a number of specific recommendations:

A. There is need for a vigorous social science school or social science college department, on the graduate level, in Brooklyn. It is especially recommended that such a Brooklyn social science school should be developed as a research center giving attention to the study of local economic, social and educational problems, in coöperation with independent commercial and social organizations.

B. It is recommended that an Educational Information Service be established, under the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education, under the Brooklyn Public Library, or under some other relatively neutral auspices. Such a bureau would have as its function (1) the giving of information to institutions regarding the services of other institutions, (2) the giving of information to individuals regarding educational opportunities in line with their particular interests, and (3) the maintenance of lists of available lecturers and leaders for different types of classes and discussion groups.

C. A more extensive study of the problems of leadership for informal community educational institutions, classes, and associations might be undertaken by some collegiate center. This would be a very appropriate service for inclusion in the program of the new Brooklyn College. Such a department might be prepared to give professional advice to organizations

contemplating the establishment of various types of educational work for adults, possibly conducting a sort of adult teachers' registry or placement service. The same institution might also provide special training classes for the development of such leaders as need arises.

D. Increased facilities are needed in the field of adult technical education in this city and in the country at large, both as regards provisions for regular engineering work in evening sessions and as regards technical courses of the institute type, intermediate between technical high schools and four-year engineering college courses. It is also recommended that the full technical high school course, leading to certificate, be made available to evening students.

E. Public and privately subsidized schools, interested in vocational education, are urged to stress basic commercial, sub-technical and general shop courses, together with related subject matter of even broader scope, or, in other words, to stress types of vocational training which have the highest educational value, giving workers insight into the meaning of their tasks, and making them adaptable in the face of possible technological shifts and other needs for changing employment. Company schools which provide basic courses are also to be commended. It may reasonably be demanded that industries which have need for workers trained along specific and restricted lines should assume the responsibility for the provision, encouragement or support of such limited job-training courses.

F. It is recommended that the Board of Education provide a large number of professional vocational counselors for the continuation schools and give greater attention to provisions for individual counseling in these schools.

G. It is recommended that the Board of Education establish four neighborhood educational centers for adults in Brooklyn, in line with the plan outlined in Chapter IX, Section 7, on a five-year experimental basis.

H. Increased appropriations are needed to enable the Brook-

# ERRATA

Page references under Appendix Part III. Summary of Findings, pages 235-245, have been omitted. They should be inserted as follows:

| <i>Page</i> | ¶ | <i>Insert pp.</i> | <i>Page</i> | ¶ | <i>Insert pp.</i> |
|-------------|---|-------------------|-------------|---|-------------------|
| 235         | 1 | 45-46             | 240         | 3 | 128-132           |
|             | 2 | 46                | 241         | 4 | 133               |
|             | 3 | 47                |             | 5 | 134-137           |
|             | 4 | 52-53             |             | 6 | 139-142           |
| 236         | 5 | 49-51             |             | 7 | 150               |
|             | 6 | 49-51             | 242         | 8 | 145-148           |
|             | 7 | 52-53             |             | 9 | 149-152           |
|             | 8 | 56-57             |             | 1 | 156-158           |
|             |   | 57-59             |             | 2 | 159               |
| 237         | 2 | 61-63             |             | 3 | 160               |
|             | 3 | 63-67             | 243         | 4 | 162-164           |
|             | 4 | 68-73             |             | 5 | 165               |
|             | 5 | 74-80             |             | 1 | 168               |
|             | 6 | 80-89             |             | 2 | 169-176           |
|             | 7 | 89-92             | 244         | 3 | 177-193           |
| 238         | 8 | 93-94             |             | 1 | 195-203           |
|             | 1 | 95                |             | 2 | 199-203           |
|             | 2 | 98-100            |             | 3 | 203-205           |
|             | 3 | 101-102           |             | 4 | 205-207           |
| 239         | 4 | 103-106           |             | 5 | 207-212           |
|             | 1 | 107-111           | 245         | 6 | 212-215           |
|             | 3 | 111-119           |             | 7 | 215-217           |
|             | 4 | 119-120           |             | 8 | 217-219           |
| 240         | 1 | 121-124           |             | 9 | 219-224           |
|             |   | cf. 54-59         |             |   |                   |
|             |   | cf. 205-207       |             |   |                   |
|             | 2 | 126               |             |   |                   |





lyn Public Library to meet effectively possible uses for library service in this area.

### III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

#### *A. Formal adult education viewed in mass* (Chapter II)

1. It appears, in so far as the Conference sampling can be regarded as representative, after certain corrections, that between 25% and 40% of the adult population of Brooklyn have taken some sort of courses since leaving full-time day school.

(pp. — —)

2. Somewhat less than one-fourth of these persons have taken regular elementary, high school or college courses in evening sessions. The median period of attendance in the case of such courses for elementary or academic credits is two years.

(pp. — —)

3. Nearly as many have attended classes in English for the foreign-born. One-third of all immigrants included in the "random sample" have attended such classes.

(pp. — —)

4. Approximately 60% of all persons reporting any sort of courses since leaving day school have taken other "adult courses" not included in either of the two previous classifications. Among these, vocational motives were effective with 66% of the men and 50% of the women; desire for "intellectual stimulation" and similar general educational interests were reported by 14% of the men and 24% of the women.

(pp. — —)

5. An analysis of the previous educational experience of all persons reporting special "adult courses," exclusive of regular elementary and academic courses and classes in English for immigrants, showed that frequency of adult study and the length of attendance rise with the amount of previous schooling. In other words, those who have had advanced education

in youth are more apt to take such courses than those who received little formal training in childhood. (pp. — —)

6. Persons reporting having taken adult courses are more apt to appear as club members and social leaders than those who have not; but attendance at adult courses is reported more frequently by single than by married persons, and among married persons more frequently by those having few children. (pp. — —)

7. Among persons reporting vocational motives for adult study, 45% of the men and 36% of the women sought to improve their efficiency in occupations in which they were already engaged. (pp. — —)

8. A comparison of persons on several levels of previous day schooling who had taken adult courses with persons on the same educational levels, as regards regular day schooling, but who had not taken adult courses showed: (pp. — —)

among those reporting vocational courses, superiority of vocational adjustment, more frequent use of libraries, superior reading habits as regards magazines and newspapers, but little difference in theater attendance or artistic activities;

among those reporting cultural courses (commonly so designated), superiority in all leisure-time activities, as analyzed. (pp. — —)

*Note:* These statements are subject to certain qualifications and, in all cases, the conclusions should be regarded as merely suggestive, not as definitely established.

### *B. Education in relation to commerce and industry (Chapter III)*

1. Present trends in economic organization tend to widen the demand for academic and commercial courses.

2. Students seeking training in specific commercial techniques are turning in large numbers to private schools; and a larger proportion of students in the evening sessions of the

public high schools are taking general academic and commercial courses. These tendencies are in line with a policy of stressing public responsibility for basic vocational courses in contrast to specific job-training courses for which there are more adequate facilities under private auspices. (pp. — —)

3. There is opportunity for the further development of popular courses combining vocational objectives with larger educational objectives. It is possible that such courses might be effectively promoted through a new type of public educational centers for adults. It is also possible that educational institutions receiving philanthropic support may play an important part in the further development of such courses. (pp. — —)

4. The limited demand for highly skilled manual workers and the frequency of shifts in methods of production necessitate attention to a similar distinction between *basic* craft and sub-technical courses and *special* job-training courses, in the education of manual workers. (pp. — —)

5. There is need for the further development of technical courses on the sub-collegiate level, and of short, well-balanced technical courses on the collegiate level. (pp. — —)

6. There are quite extensive provisions for the education of employees, along lines tending to promote increased vocational efficiency, by quite a number of commercial and industrial companies in Brooklyn. These provisions reveal wide variation in company educational policies. (pp. — —)

7. The adult population of Brooklyn in general looks with favor on the promotion of education among employees by commercial and industrial organizations. There is little expectation that companies will engage extensively in *general* educational efforts (other than along the lines of the company's business) and therefore little interest in this possibility. On the other hand such a suggestion was rarely treated with definite antagonism. (pp. — —)



8. There is little workers' education under trade union auspices in Brooklyn. Interest in workers' education, as such, in so far as it exists, is most conspicuous among the left-wing unions and Socialist groups. (pp. — —)

*C. Foreign guests and new Americans (Chapter IV)*

1. On the whole the evidence collected by the Brooklyn Conference indicates that the public school provisions for the study of English by immigrants are fairly effective in meeting this objective. (pp. — —)

2. Among petitioners for citizenship (final applicants), interviewed by the Conference staff, one-half have attended classes in English in this country. Of the others, 15% had studied English in their native countries, 53% had taken no formal studies but were able to speak English fairly well, and 32% appeared never to have attended classes and also to be quite illiterate in English. The percentage of students of English and of persons literate in English was very high among Germans and Scandinavians, but quite low among Italians. The percentage in the case of persons speaking Yiddish was intermediate between these two extremes. (pp. — —)

3. In a sample of petitioners for citizenship who had studied in public school adult classes in English, who were given reading tests, 69% gave evidence of fair or superior reading ability. Among those who had attended such classes more than two years, 78% showed such ability, 8% were wholly unable to read English, and in a few cases such inability was found in the case of persons who had attended classes a full year or more. Superior reading ability was found in the case of 25% of those who had attended three months or less and 55% of those who had attended more than two years. (pp. — —)

4. There is serious need for the promotion of other phases of immigrant education, including the study of public problems and introduction to intellectual traditions and movements in America. In these larger aspects the problem of immigrant



education merges into the whole problem of popular adult education. (pp. — —)

*D. Vocational and educational counsel* (Chapter V)

1. Sixty-three per cent of all persons interviewed, exclusive of homemakers, reported they would be glad or would have been glad at some previous time to seek professional vocational counsel, if such were available under favorable conditions.

(pp. — —)

2. Among 271 persons who reported "real help" from professional, semi-professional or institutional sources in choosing vocations, credit for aid received is divided as follows: school authorities, 57%; labor exchanges, 24%; Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., etc., 12%; clubs, churches and social organizations, 7%.

3. Interviews conducted with youths in attendance one year or more at compulsory continuation school by the Conference staff yielded the following results:

as regards attitude toward the school: 64% expressed a generally favorable attitude; 12% were indifferent or equivocal; 24% were negative or hostile;

as regards opportunities for vocational try-outs in the school shops and classes: 55% appeared to have received some benefit from such classes or at least there was a positive connection between class work and occupational interests; another 5% were listed as doubtful; in 40% of the cases no such connection was found;

as regards personal vocational counsel: although the school has definite provision for meeting this need in all cases, only 11% of the boys interviewed were conscious of having received helpful counsel in choosing their life-work.

(pp. — —)

4. There is a considerable demand for educational counsel for adults, such as the services of a central information agency about possibilities and conditions of various kinds of adult study.

(pp. — —)

*E. Metropolitan culture* (Chapter VI)

1. Evidence has already been introduced (Chapter II) which indicates that the taking of adult courses tends to be positively related to frequency of free time interests of an intellectual character. In a later chapter (Chapter IX) evidence will be presented indicating that membership in community organizations and clubs having educational programs is also correlated with a more critical selection of free time pursuits.

(pp. — —, cf. pp. — — and pp. — —)

2. Evidence is presented regarding the newspaper habits of various occupational groups and persons on different educational levels. For example, among persons in the total sample having only elementary schooling, 16% did not check newspapers in a list of free-time activities. Among those of this class who stated their preferences, 34% read one or more of a group of six (*Herald-Tribune*, *Times*, *Telegram*, *Post*, *Sun*, *World*), 27% read either the *New York American* or the *Evening Journal*, 19% mention tabloids *only*, and 16% usually read some Brooklyn paper. Among college graduates, 10% do not check newspaper reading. Among those stating preferences, 93% list one or more of the group of six mentioned above, 3% read the *New York American* or the *Evening Journal*, none (or less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1%) report tabloids *only*, and 24% list Brooklyn papers.

(p. —)

3. A majority of persons on all educational levels report radio as an important leisure interest, but the percentages taper off slightly at the two extremes, especially the lower, and are highest in an intermediate group of persons who have had some high school or vocational training in addition to elementary schooling but are not high school graduates. A majority on all educational levels give music as a first preference, and of those who differentiate between classical music and jazz a majority, even on the elementary school level, prefer classical or semi-classical music.

(pp. — —)

4. An analysis is reported of the reading and library habits of persons of various educational levels; e.g., among high school graduates who are not college graduates, 72% report fiction; 25%, reading along lines connected with their work; 12%, popular mechanics, etc.; 18%, styles, housekeeping, etc.; 35%, literary magazines; 31%, history, biography; 32%, philosophy, religion, etc.; 31%, politics or economics; 35%, science. (p. —)

5. The rental libraries apparently serve much the same public that is served by the public libraries, as regards occupational distribution and reading interests, but a much smaller public. Rental libraries are frequently used for pleasure-books by persons who use public libraries for reference purposes. (pp. — —)

6. Active artistic interests, which have become central in later life, were apparently usually formed in childhood. Impersonal environmental influences seem to be very important in such development. (pp. — —)

7. Attendance at art museums and at natural history museums, zoölogical parks, aquariums and botanical gardens is reported by persons of all educational levels. "Frequent" attendance at art museums is reported by 8% of all persons (4% in the case of those who have had only elementary schooling), and at the natural history group by 12% of the total sample (9% in the case of those who have had only elementary schooling). Only in the case of college graduates is frequent attendance at art museums more frequently reported than such attendance at the natural history group, 19% as compared with 12%. (p. —)

8. Among persons visiting the Brooklyn Museum, professional, business, and clerical people clearly predominate. Only 16% of those interviewed at the Museum were attending for the first time out of general curiosity. The others had come at least once before, or were prompted by some more definite



interest, including 12% who came through the influence of teachers or friends or were "brought" by their children. Nearly half came to see some particular exhibit, a majority of these being attracted by a special exhibition of sculpture. Many of the newcomers had apparently spent most of their time in ethnological and other halls near the entrance although these were perhaps not inherently the most interesting. There were many artists and others with defined objectives among the visitors. The problem of ministering adequately to such interests and at the same time to the educational needs of the lay public presents serious difficulties. (pp. — —)

9. Need for the refinement of the instruments of mass culture and need for the development of more intensive educational work with individuals are complementary; but the latter is perhaps the more urgent need at present. (pp. — —)

#### *F. Education for parenthood* (Chapter VII)

1. Apparently only about one per cent of women primarily engaged in homemaking, included in the total sample, have ever made any systematic study of child psychology, the care of children, or parent-child relations, in any class or study group, and almost no men report participation in such courses. (pp. — —)

2. There is some evidence that the radio has already become an instrument of some importance in parental education. (pp. — —)

3. Quite a large percentage of parents, especially in the poorer districts, list various company pamphlets on nutrition most frequently as the source from which help has been obtained in meeting parental problems. A smaller percentage mention pamphlets issued by the municipal Board of Health or the national government. (p. —)

4. Excellence in parenthood is largely a matter of general educational level, intelligence and personality development. In



this connection it is important to note that 25% of married persons without children, and 27% of persons having only one or two children, were found to be high school graduates (including college graduates); but among persons having three, four or five children only 15% had gone this far in school, and among those with six or more children the figure drops to 7%. Among several classes of parents from whom answers were received regarding sources of information on parental problems the largest families were found among those visited by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

(pp. — —)

5. One partial answer to the problem of education for parenthood may be found in the development of neighborhood educational centers for adults, previously mentioned. (p. —)

*G. Social problems and social intelligence* (Chapter VIII)

1. The percentage of all persons who checked "Politics, economics, etc.," in a list of types of reading varied from 6% in the case of unskilled men and 3% in the case of industrial women to 31% in the case of business men, 47% in the case of professional men, and 23% in the case of business and professional women. Six persons out of 1,166 in the "random sample," selected as representative of the whole population, had ever taken any sort of adult course in the field of social science, including general psychology, history, politics and economics (other than business courses). (pp. — —)

2. Interest in social problems, where it appears strongly developed in adult life, as judged by returns from Brooklyn subscribers to four outstanding journals in this field, is often formed in late adolescence or adult life. And school influences are often most important in this development. (pp. — —)

3. In a symposium on social education, drawn from replies to special questionnaires on this subject, the great stress falls upon the importance of social science institutes, neighborhood

educational centers, small classes and informal study groups, i.e., upon work with individual and small groups. (pp. — —)

*H. Community organizations and public policy in adult education* (Chapter IX)

1. Independent clubs, study groups, and informal social and civic organizations exhibit an interesting variety in such an area as Brooklyn, and have much educational significance. The greatest educational values, however, would seem to lie at present with organizations in which the educational motive is consciously asserted and systematically cultivated.

(pp. — —)

2. The modern type of women's organizations, dealing with political, social and educational problems, has very interesting educational possibilities.

(pp. — —)

3. The possible significance of neighborhood educational centers is illustrated by an analysis of the activities of one such institution receiving philanthropic support. (pp. — —)

4. Over ten per cent of the total Conference sample (including representatives of adult student groups) were members of clubs having educational features. This ten per cent included a higher percentage of persons of advanced education, a higher percentage of persons taking courses since leaving day school, and a higher percentage of persons enjoying superior cultural interests than the rest of the sample.

(pp. — —)

5. The possibilities of informal educational programs in churches and synagogues are illustrated by current developments in some Brooklyn institutions.

(pp. — —)

6. The percentage of persons who have taken regular elementary and academic work for credit in evening sessions is highest among the Jewish population; but the percentage of persons who have taken other "adult courses" (including a majority of vocational courses) is highest among the Protestant population—according to the analysis of data collected by the

Conference. The highest percentage of frequent users of public libraries is found among Jews. The percentage of persons interested in reading along political, social and economic lines seems to be about equal among Jews and Protestants.

(pp. — —)

7. There are important possibilities in the development of public neighborhood educational centers in school buildings and in related informal community educational programs. A large majority of all persons interviewed (77%) gave a positive, favorable reply to the suggestion of the development of popular community educational centers for adults; and again, a large majority of these designated the public schools as a favorable location for such centers. Related informal community educational programs associated with the public schools are already in progress.

(pp. — —)

8. There is possibility of further integration of collegiate centers with community institutions along two lines:

a. Community research.

b. The stimulation of community educational programs, and supply of properly prepared leaders for such enterprises.

(pp. — —)

9. Four main lines of advance, or possible fields of adult education, are outlined:

a. Academic and vocational schools adapted to the needs of individuals with well defined educational objectives.

b. Impersonal instruments of mass culture.

c. Public neighborhood educational centers for adults.

d. Independent community centers, educational clubs, study groups, church educational programs, and other informal activities.

(pp. — —)

















